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PROGRESS AND PROSPECTS, THE REPORT OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF GOVERNORS' COMMISSIONS ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN (2D, WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 28-30, 1965).

INTERDEPARTMENTAL COMM. ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN
CITIZENS ADVISORY COUNCIL ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

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OF THE 446 REPRESENTATIVES FROM STATE COMMISSIONS, STATES, AND FEDERAL AGENCIES ATTENDING THE CONFERENCE, 390 WERE WOMEN. NINETEEN STATE COMMISSIONS REPORTED ACTIVITIES SUCH AS INFLUENCING THE PASSAGE OF EQUAL PAY OR MINIMUM WAGE LAWS APPLICABLE TO BOTH MEN AND WOMEN AND PARTICIPATING IN POVERTY PROGRAMS AND ADULT EDUCATION. PARTICIPANTS IN 11 WORKSHOPS DISCUSSED QUESTIONS OF POPULAR INTEREST, AND SIX DISCUSSED PRACTICAL PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES THAT ALL COMMISSIONS NEED TO BE FAMILIAR WITH. SPEECHES STRESSING THE IMPORTANCE OF WOMEN'S ROLE IN NATIONAL LIFE WERE PRESENTED BY LYNDON B. JOHNSON, HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, W. WILLARD WIRTZ, ELIZABETH CARPENTER, JOHN W. MACY, JR., MAURINE B. NEUBERGER, MARY DUBLIN KEYSERLING, WILLIAM J. COHEN, AILEEN C. HERNANDEZ, AND FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT, JR. KEY IDEAS WHICH EMERGED FROM THE SPEECHES, REPORTS AND DISCUSSIONS WERE -- (1) WOMEN SHOULD RECOGNIZE AND FULFILL THE RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH ACCOMPANY NEWLY ACQUIRED RIGHTS, (2) BENEFITS OF LABOR STANDARDS ACQUIRED FOR WOMEN SHOULD BE EXTENDED TO MEN WHERE THIS IS APPROPRIATE AND POSSIBLE, (3) FATHERS, HUSBANDS, BROTHERS MUST BE EDUCATED TO ENCOURAGE ASPIRATIONS AND ACHIEVEMENT OF GIRLS AND WOMEN, AND (4) WOMEN SHOULD PURSUE EXCELLENCE IN EDUCATION, FAMILY LIFE, COMMUNITY PARTICIPATION, AND EMPLOYMENT. PERTINENT FACTS ABOUT COMMISSION REPORTS, SUMMARIES OF WORKSHOP DISCUSSIONS, EXCERPTS FROM SPEECHES, AND A DIRECTORY OF PARTICIPANTS ARE INCLUDED. (FP)



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PROGRESS^{AND}PROSPECTS

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GOVERNORS' COMMISSIONS ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

VT003868

WASHINGTON, D. C., JULY 28-30, 1965

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¹ This group, called The Governor's Committee on Education and Employment, has completed its work and reported to the Governor.

² Original Commission has reported; continuing Commission has been authorized by law, but members have not been announced.

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PROGRESS^{AND} PROSPECTS

THE REPORT OF THE SECOND NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF
GOVERNORS' COMMISSIONS ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN

COSPONSORED
BY THE
INTERDEPARTMENTAL
COMMITTEE
ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN
AND THE
CITIZENS'
ADVISORY COUNCIL
ON THE STATUS OF WOMEN
WASHINGTON, D.C., JULY 28-30, 1965

FOREWORD

"Progress and Prospects" is the report of the Second National Conference of Governors' Commissions on the Status of Women held in Washington, D.C., on July 28-30, 1965.

Within 2 years after the President's Commission on the Status of Women submitted its report to President John F. Kennedy, 44 State Governors had appointed Commissions to study women's activities, accomplishments, and needs. At the time of the Conference, 19 of these State Commissions had already prepared their interim or final reports to the Governors.

The Conference was sponsored by the Interdepartmental Committee and the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women. The Women's Bureau of the U.S. Department of Labor made an invaluable contribution in planning the Conference and providing the Conference staff.

Representatives of 43 of the 44 State Commissions attended the Conference, as did representatives of each of the 6 States in which Commissions did not yet exist. Federal agencies in Washington involved in programs of particular concern to women sent representatives. These representatives came not only as resource specialists but also to learn about the richly diversified action programs that are being formulated across the country by the State Commissions and to be informed of further ways in which they can be of assistance to the Commission. Our good neighbor to the north, Canada, sent two distinguished observers. Conference participants numbered 446 in all, 390 women and 56 men.

The Conference program was a blend of inspiration and information. Participants were invited to the South Lawn of the White House to hear President Lyndon Baines Johnson, and at the Wednesday dinner, Mrs. Johnson graciously received guests. Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey was extremely generous in giving of his time and thought. The State representatives made invaluable contributions through their exchange of experience and information at the workshop and other sessions.

This report, which was prepared with the assistance of Frances Balgley Kaplan, highlights ideas and activities which Commissions in many parts of the country have found meaningful and useful; it therefore also presents useful information for Commissions that have been organized more recently.

The enthusiasm and dedication of those who came to Washington made us more confident than ever that the State Commissions will continue to contribute actively and constructively to the improvement of the status of women and to the building of the Great Society.

W. Willard Wirtz

Chairman, Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women.

Margaret Stuebel

Chairman, Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women.

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PROGRAM

- July 28 Reception and Dinner—State Department—Thomas Jefferson Room
- Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz
Mrs. Elizabeth Carpenter—Press Secretary and Staff Director to Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson
Chairman John W. Macy, Jr.—U.S. Civil Service Commission
- July 29 Chaired by Miss Margaret Hickey
Chairman, Citizens' Advisory Council
- Welcome, Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson
Introduction of Speaker—Secretary of Labor Wirtz
- Address: The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
- State Commission Chairmen Commenting on Reports to Governors
- The White House
Address: The Honorable Lyndon B. Johnson
President of the United States
- Senator Maurine B. Neuberger—Luncheon Speaker
- Introduction of State Commission Chairmen
- Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare Wilbur J. Cohen
- Women's Bureau Director Mary Dublin Keyserling
- Evening Social Hour
- July 30 Concurrent Working Sessions—Morning and Afternoon
- Mrs. Aileen C. Hernandez, Member, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission—
Luncheon Speaker
- Chairman Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Equal Employment Opportunity Commission—Luncheon Speaker
- Summaries of Working Sessions and of Conference

The Conference assembled on the South Lawn of the White House to hear President Johnson's message



Progress and Prospects



Representatives of the 49 States who attended the Conference of Governors' Commissions on the Status of Women held in Washington, D.C., July 28-30, 1965, were leaders of a new force—a national assembly of men and women that recognizes the mutuality of the needs and aspirations of the two sexes and seeks equality of opportunity for both. As a State Commission spokesman put it: "This is not a ladies' aid society. This is a partnership plan."

Some 322 State participants represented 43 of the 44 Commissions on the Status of Women that were then functioning. In another sense, they represented approximately 1,800 working members of these Commissions and their subcommittees. All 6 States in which Commissions did not then exist also sent representatives—knowledgeable, articulate, and eager to cooperate. In all, 316 State representatives attended

the Conference; 286 were women, 30 were men. Though financial arrangements varied, a majority of participants paid their own expenses.

Participants

In addition to State representatives, about 100 invited guests and representatives of Federal agencies attended the Conference. For the most part, the latter were present as "resource specialists" to inform the Conference and answer questions about Federal programs. They were experts on day care programs for children, Federal aid for education, vocational counseling and guidance, labor legislation, personal and property rights of women, social security, unemployment compensation, housing, health, and the many other fields of concern to the Commission representatives.



Mrs. Johnson and Secretary of Labor and Mrs. W. Willard Wirtz graciously greeted guests at the Wednesday dinner

The invited guests, starting with the First Lady, Mrs. Lyndon Baines Johnson, added a special significance to both social and working sessions; several who became interested beyond their expectations spent more time with the group than they had planned. Two foreign guests, Miss Marion Royce, Director of the Women's Bureau of Canada, and Mrs. Ethel McLellan, Director of the Women's Bureau of the Canadian Province of Ontario, also attended and represented a dimension which many hope will be added to future meetings—a consideration of the condition and progress of women all over the world. A directory of participants at the Conference is at the close of this report.

Miss Margaret Hickey, Chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, chaired the planning committee for the Conference and presided over it efficiently, graciously, and with a constant concern for keeping the meeting on schedule as well as for encouraging the exchange of information. Since the Conference had to adjust to the schedules of busy VIP's and the participants were to hear over 35 reports and about a dozen speeches, the fact that it gen-

erated great enthusiasm, ran smoothly, completed its assigned tasks, and concluded on schedule was a tribute to Miss Hickey's skill.

Key Ideas

This meeting, the second gathering of State Commissions, left its mark on individuals and State groups. The opportunity to meet and exchange ideas about common problems helped strengthen common purposes among the heterogeneous, diversified, variously organized, and unequally experienced State units. That officials such as the President of the United States, the Vice President, the Secretary of Labor, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, and other national leaders were willing to discuss progress and problems with the Conference brought it the realization that official Washington recognized the importance of its work. Moreover, State groups began to feel their relationship to the national picture, and to envisage the two-way give and take that brings local, State, and national programs together in proper perspective.

State participants were quick to recognize the richness of the experiences offered them. They responded with an intense desire to communicate with others and learn from them. Their enthusiasm and drive was apparent at all times. This colored the atmosphere and communicated itself to the Washington guests who came to offer information.

Out of the speeches, reports, and workshop discussions that filled 2 days and 2 evenings many ideas emerged. Some of the key ideas were these: First, responsibilities accompany rights—women have a responsibility to walk through newly opened doors when opportunities are made available, a responsibility to help community organizations eradicate poverty, a responsibility to vote and to run for office, a responsibility to regard education as investment. Second, the benefits of labor standards legislation, which in earlier years commonly applied only to women, should be extended to men where this is possible and appropriate. Women are challenged to work to bring this about. Third, since the attitudes of fathers, husbands, and boys friends have a strong bearing on the aspirations and achievements of girls

and women, these attitudes must be educated, through guidance, counseling, and any other effective method. And fourth, the pursuit of excellence should mark women's activities in all facets of their lives—among them, education, family life, community participation, and employment. Concentration on "stature" will help bring "status" in its wake. These themes were heard in informal conversation, in workshop reports, in polished speeches. They were in the air.

State Reports

The first opportunity for State Commissions to share their experiences with others came on Thursday, when representatives of the 19 States which had thus far issued reports discussed them with the Conference. Delaware reported first, followed by Georgia, Illinois, Iowa, Michigan, Minnesota, Nebraska, Nevada, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin, and Hawaii. A table providing pertinent facts about each of these published reports begins on page 65. The healthy diversity that marked each Commission's organization and approach was readily apparent, although a pattern of common interests emerged.

Several State Commission spokesmen reported success in passing equal pay or minimum wage laws applicable to both men and women. Others reported failure in the same endeavor. Still others announced passage of bills that "were not what we hoped for, but at least our foot is in the door." One chairman wisely said, "I will not divide what we have done into success or failure because my background includes being a housewife, raising children, and working in voluntary organizations. I have learned that there is no cutoff date. What we might now regard as failure may really be just a beginning."

Representatives of two State Commissions which had issued comprehensive reports hesitated to claim too much credit for the progress that had been made in their States. One of these representatives believed that Commission efforts had helped women to gain confidence and men to become aware. The other found a tie be-

tween the solution to the problem of the bored housewife and the War on Poverty. "The women who have volunteered their time and efforts to Project Head Start and Women in Community Service (WICS) are no longer bored," she reported. "Can we introduce more people to this kind of experience?" she asked.

State Commission involvement with the poverty program administered by the Office of Economic Opportunity was frequently and unanimously recommended.

Several State Commission spokesmen reported that their States had expanded training for homemakers and established standards for day care programs. One Commission had developed a code for household employment, *Hands Across the Table*, as part of a comprehensive program to help improve the status of home-related jobs. It also organized a training course for upgrading the skills of household employees. Another State set up a special project for migrant workers. Another concentrated on the employment opportunities needed by youth and the special problems of Indian minority groups.

Two of the five bills introduced in its State legislature by one Commission aimed to remove from women's work those restrictions no longer thought necessary. One that removed hours limitations from professional women and executives has become law.

One reporter indicated that her Commission was well supplied with funds for studies, consultants, public hearings. Another said that her Commission was given neither money nor staff, only good wishes and hope.

Several States could report no more progress than the issuance of a report. Time had not permitted implementation through legislation or executive action. The hopeful note which ran throughout, however, was that even in those States in which a change of administration had taken place, Governors promised that Commissions would continue to function, sometimes reduced in size, but often under the same chairman.

Fuller records of implementation and progress in the States and at the national level will come with the second annual report of the Interdepartmental Committee and the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women to be issued early in 1966.



Canada's observers at the Conference: Miss Marion V. Royce, Director, Women's Bureau of the Canadian Government, and Mrs. Ethel McLellan, Director, Women's Bureau, Province of Ontario

Workshop Reports

The second formal opportunity for State participants to learn from each other's experience came at the two workshop sessions held on Friday. In the morning, for 2¾ hours, 11 workshops met simultaneously to discuss substantive questions of popular interest. The large number of participants who wanted to join the Education Workshop made necessary the organization of two groups on that subject. The other 10 workshop topics were: the Legal Status of Women, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Employment Opportunities, Vocational Guidance, Home and Community, Consumer Education, Community Services, Labor Standards, Income Maintenance, and Women in Public Life.

In the afternoon, six workshops met simultaneously for an hour, to discuss the practical procedures and techniques that all Commissions need to be familiar with. Subjects included: Financing State Commissions, Preparing the Report, Working With the Governor's Office, Enlisting Broader Support and Participation for Commissions, Techniques for Securing Information—Conferences, Hearings, Studies, and Promoting Continuity of the Program.

There was one criticism of the workshops—not enough time was allowed for them. A frequent suggestion was that three sessions should have been planned for, instead of two, to allow time for digesting the facts between sessions. All agreed that time was too short.

The gist of the workshop discussions begins on page 43. Lists of the people who led, recorded, and supplied information for each workshop appear before each workshop summary.

Unsurprisingly, although each group had a different topic, discussions overlapped and some significant ideas turned up simultaneously in several workshops.

One idea underscored in several ways was that counseling and guidance services too often focus on too narrow a problem. The concept of these services should be broadened. Counseling and guidance services should help girls and women find their overall function in society—not just the kind of paying job they are likely to qualify for.

The importance of getting messages through to women in the lower economic levels who are not reached by common channels of communication caused several workshops to explore avenues open through schools, youth organizations, scouts, and other neighborhood groups.

The importance of extending protective labor standards to men as well as women where desirable was frequently mentioned.

Two areas in need of greater emphasis also were revealed. First, more information is available about programs of interest to State Commission people than they know about or use. Further improvements could be made in communication channels between Federal agencies and people in the States who often are unaware of sources from which they can obtain both financial and advisory assistance. Sizable amounts of money are available to States on a matching basis for an ever-growing variety of programs; experienced "know-how" is also available, as are a wide variety of informational materials—exhibits, publications, photographs, and the like. To acquaint State Commission members with these materials and services, the lobby leading to Conference meeting rooms was lined with exhibits of publications and information about programs sponsored by the U.S. Departments of Agriculture; Health, Educa-

tion, and Welfare; and Labor; and the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Office of Consumer Affairs, the Housing and Home Finance Agency, and the Civil Service Commission.

The Federal program specialists who attended the workshops as resource specialists and panelists are available all year round to answer questions, to fill requests, or to be otherwise useful. Their names are listed with the resumé of workshop discussions beginning on page 43. Their agency addresses are on pages 79 and 80.

In addition to these Federal agency representatives, State Commission members whose Commissions' activities have progressed considerably are excellent sources of advice for their colleagues. Some State representatives served as resource specialists and panelists. Their names are listed before the workshop resumé and their addresses begin on page 70.

A second need for education became apparent when, during the discussions, a number of myths concerning women's behavior, roles, and activities were cited as fact. There would seem to be need for more widespread dissemination of the most current information that psychologists, sociologists, economists, employers, and educators have gathered about women.

The Speeches

The speeches addressed to the Conference by administration leaders reinforced the major interests and strengthened the convictions of participants.

The gala buffet dinner on Wednesday night was presided over in a lighthearted vein by Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz. He expressed the hope that increased participation of women in the National Government would be measured in terms of women's accomplishments, not "in terms of the number of women or the number of men engaged in particular activities of government." Secretary Wirtz said, "I hope we'll reach very quickly that point of unself-consciousness about the whole thing. I don't think we've quite gotten there yet." The text of Secretary Wirtz' speech begins on page 11.

Mrs. Elizabeth Carpenter, Special Assistant to President Johnson and Staff Director for Mrs. Johnson, extolled the flexibility and capabilities of women: "The modern lives of modern women give them two special characteristics good for government and for business: No job is too big or too small. And they know how to improvise. . . .



Guests of honor at the Wednesday dinner obviously enjoyed the words of Mrs. Elizabeth Carpenter, Press Secretary to the First Lady: (left to right) Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson, Senator George Aiken, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz, Chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Council Margaret Hickey, Chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission John W. Macy, Jr., Director of the Women's Bureau Mary Dublin Keyserling, and Mrs. Elizabeth Carpenter



Members of the Interdepartmental Committee and the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women flanked President Johnson when he addressed the Conference

"At no time in our history has our country offered such opportunity for the total involvement of all of its citizens as it has in all the goals of the Great Society. We are in the business of redeeming people. The War on Poverty with its Job Corps, Head Start, remaking cement jungles into livable cities—all these tasks are offering women new horizons." The text of Mrs. Carpenter's speech begins on page 13.

Mr. John W. Macy, Jr., Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and the President's Special Assistant for Recruitment, urged State Commission members to pass the message of equal employment opportunity for women to State and municipal civil service agencies. At the same time, he warned that the figures which show that women represent a declining proportion of those taking advantage of higher education mean that too few women will be qualified for appointment to positions of leadership and management, where perhaps the greatest shortage exists. "We need to join together to do anything we possibly can to encourage more women to remain in the educational sys-

tem. . . . That is a job that needs to be done by fathers more than by any other people in our society. Fathers need to abandon the assumption that their daughters really cannot learn math, or that it's not quite feminine to major in physics or chemistry, or that the engineering degree is strictly a male degree. This, it seems to me, is at the core of the future in producing the full utilization of feminine ability." Mr. Macy's speech begins on page 16.

On Thursday, the President's talk on the South Lawn of the White House underscored society's responsibility for the less well off. "Our first concern must be, and is, people," he said. "In our society, rich and strong and successful as it is, people face increasingly complex and very severe personal challenges. I am glad you have been helping in the search for solutions to some of these challenges—especially those which beset women who are both breadwinners and mothers.

"While we seek to advance women to their rightful place at the top of the ladder of this society, we must never forget and never neglect those women who stand insecurely and uncertainly on the lower rungs. . . .



Secretary Wirtz introduced Vice President Humphrey at the Thursday morning session

"The American woman has a challenging responsibility to meet in this country. Whether she puts her knowledge to use in her home community or in Washington matters very little. What really does matter is that the collective wisdom of women never be lost and never be left unused as we face the serious tests and the soaring programs before us now." President Johnson's remarks begin on page 23.

Vice President Humphrey referred to the President as a peacemaker. "He understands," said the Vice President, "that peace means more than the absence of war. . . . Peace is positive, not negative; it is dynamic, not static. . . . It is another word for progress, another word for achievement, another word for the release of the great potential of mankind. . . . The work that you are doing is related to this very theme of peace. . . . When you work on your State Commission, you seek to improve the general condition of a community so that everyone may be a little freer to make something out of his or her life." Vice President Humphrey's speech begins on page 21.

The luncheon speaker was Senator Maurine B. Neuberger of Oregon, a member of the Presi-



Senator Maurine Neuberger discussed women in politics at the luncheon on Thursday

dent's Commission on the Status of Women, who gave a very practical exposition of the problems women face in politics. She said that to be successful, women must unlearn many of the character traits they have been taught; they must be willing to say they are better; they must learn to take criticism and ridicule; they must lose embarrassment about asking for money; they must learn about *all* subjects that come up for legislation, not just the ones they're *supposed* to be interested in; for slow and discouraging as the legislative process can be, the rewards are great. Excerpts from Senator Neuberger's address begin on page 25.

The speeches heard during the afternoon also were substantive. Mrs. Mary Dublin Keyserling, Director of the Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, posed questions about unfinished business that State Commissions and national agencies should consider when planning future action. Is there a new approach to the dropout problem? What can be done to increase the proportion of women who enter college or earn higher degrees? Why haven't women been given places in the upper echelons of private industry? What about the woefully

inadequate income earned by women at the lower end of the economic ladder? Are we pressing hard enough for the extension of labor standards laws to men as well as women? Are we keeping in mind the advice given by the President's Commission not to abandon existing labor standards until improvements are effected? Are young women's aspirations high enough? What can women do to help the poor, eradicate slums, and care for the ill? And what of American men—what are their attitudes toward women's role in the Great Society? Mrs. Keyserling's speech begins on page 28.

Wilbur J. Cohen, Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare, spoke on what he termed a "key date in my life." He came to the Conference directly from a meeting at which President Johnson and the American Medical Association had discussed the Medicare bill which had just been passed. He pointed out that 30 years earlier, food, clothing, and shelter might have been considered the three basic ele-



Wilbur J. Cohen, Undersecretary of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, told the Conference about advances in Federal programs in his area

ments of a decent standard of living. He said, "... there are two more—the right to education and the right to good health." In 1965, 90 years after the introduction of the idea, Congress passed a comprehensive law giving Federal aid to elementary and secondary education; in this same year, 30 years after the idea was introduced, Congress passed Medicare. "Over the next 30 years we must invest more and more in health, education, and welfare. Please understand and explain to others the importance of allocating more resources to these crucial areas and of fighting for this investment in our future. . . . We cannot have a good standard of living and a great country unless we are willing—in our local communities, at the State legislative level, and at the Federal level—to fight for adequate funds, good facilities, and adequate training of personnel in the fields of health, education, and welfare." Excerpts from Under Secretary Cohen's speech begin on page 32.

Speakers at the Friday luncheon illuminated a subject of primary interest and importance to everyone—Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibits discrimination in employment, training, and promotion on the basis of sex as well as on the basis of race, color, religion, and national origin. An Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, of which Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., is chairman, administers enforcement of Title VII.

Mrs. Aileen C. Hernandez, who is one of the four other Commissioners, invited State Commission members to assist the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in encouraging people to think about women's roles in terms of the 20th century. She recognized that men, both as individuals and as business executives, are worried about possible implications of Title VII. Contrary to some predictions, she thought that Title VII might well be an emancipation act for men and bring them some of the protections formerly extended only to women. Mrs. Hernandez' remarks begin on page 38.

In his speech, Chairman Roosevelt granted that the provisions of Title VII dealing with discrimination on the basis of sex are complex and controversial and are rendered more so by the ambiguous Bennett Amendment. Varying interpretations of the amendment will have to

be reconciled before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission can establish its position. The Commission also will define limits within which sex may be used as a bona fide occupational qualification. And it will find a balance between Title VII and various State laws that provide special treatment for employed women. Chairman Roosevelt welcomed State Commission activities that seek to reevaluate State laws relating to women and offered his agency's cooperation. He announced formation of a committee to advise him on whether newspaper advertising under separate "Help Wanted—Men" and "Help Wanted—Women" columns should be curtailed as discriminatory. See page 40 for Chairman Roosevelt's speech.

The speeches over and the reports in, the meeting adjourned on time. Participants scattered to airports, train stations, bus depots, and waiting cars.

Toward the Future

The individuals who left Washington on July 30th were different from those who had assembled on the 28th. They had worked together with others who had similar objectives but diverse backgrounds. One professional woman had to admit that although participants who were "just housewives" didn't always know the technicalities, they nevertheless "talked sense." Women from Minnesota and Mississippi, from Hawaii and New Hampshire found that they shared problems and attitudes and that even when they disagreed they learned from one another.

The lady who had asked, "Where do you find women who might be interested in doing volunteer work or serving on a committee?" now had her answer and a lot more information besides. The participant who came not knowing exactly why, left with purpose and drive.

The obvious interest of the President, the Vice President, and other important guests in the cause of the Conference touched and impressed both State and Federal participants.

"When I get home, this will seem a dream," said one participant.

"I have the feeling that, after this high-level meeting, it's going to be a cold cruel world tomorrow," said another.

The shoulderrubbing and the speechmaking were summarized for the Conference by Dr. Kathryn F. Clarenbach, Chairman of the Wisconsin Commission:

"If one thing has been paramount, I think it is a sense of momentum and of progress. We are not an isolated Commission, dipping into bits and pieces here and there of a giant and complex and usually overwhelming problem, but rather we are a part of a significant nationwide movement. . . .

"This Conference has given us the courage and incentive to move out with confidence, with imagination, and probably with a little boldness. . . .

"We know now, in a way we did not know before, how many allies we have in Washington. I think we would be very surprised to find how many allies we have in our own towns and cities and States once they know we mean business. . . .

"There certainly is no dearth of programs or opportunities to serve. We have more things to cope with than we can even pack in our suitcases. But with a new kind of enthusiasm which I think this Conference has created in all of us, and with the deepest gratitude for a truly profound experience, let's go home and get down to business." (See page 62.)



Dr. Kathryn F. Clarenbach, Chairman, Wisconsin Commission, underscored the significance of Conference ideas

Mrs. Esther Peterson, Miss Dorothy Height, Miss Margaret Mealey, Dr. Bennetta Washington, Mrs. Annette Baker, and Mrs. Carl H. Boone on the White House lawn



CONFERENCE SESSIONS



WEDNESDAY EVENING SESSION—SETTING THE STAGE

Wednesday evening was lighthearted; the atmosphere relaxed and elegant. Mrs. Lyndon Baines Johnson greeted guests in the Thomas Jefferson Room atop the State Department building. With the First Lady were Secretary of Labor and Mrs. W. Willard Wirtz, Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson, Civil Service Commissioner John W. Macy, Jr., and Women's Bureau Director Mary Dublin Keyserling, each garlanded with a lei of lavender orchids—the gift of the Hawaii Commission on the Status of Women. Buffet dinner was served.

Secretary Wirtz, master of ceremonies for the evening, introduced the people at the head table: Director of the Women's Bureau Mary Dublin Keyserling, “. . . who brings a lifetime of devotion to the principles that we are here to develop;” Miss Margaret Hickey, identified only as senior editor for public affairs of the *Ladies' Home Journal* “. . . because there is no stopping place beyond that in a whole list of 1,000 activities;” Senator George Aiken of Vermont “. . . whose value is undiminished by his sex;” and Assistant Secretary of Labor Esther Peterson “. . . that symbol of achievement of the advancing status of women.”

Eleanor Roosevelt's name was often heard in conversations—her spirit felt in the presence both of her daughter, Mrs. Anna Roosevelt Halsted, a member of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, and her daughter-in-law, Mrs. Franklin Delano Roosevelt, Jr. Miss Marion Royce, Director of the Women's Bureau of Canada, was present from Ottawa. Despite his statement that the evening's real speechmaker was Liz Carpenter, Secretary Wirtz contributed significantly to the evening's discussion.

Excerpts From the Remarks of W. Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor

It is very hard for all of us here this evening to think of anything except the President's report to the Nation this noon—on Vietnam.

I noted that the President, after bringing home to us the lesson of Southeast Asia and all that is involved there, returned our thoughts to

the subject of education and equal opportunity—those areas in which democracy's real victories will be won after the battles of Southeast Asia—and elsewhere—are won.

It seemed to me that the President was saying that even as we move strongly to defend freedom in Southeast Asia, we must intensify our efforts to make freedom meaningful at home. . . .

There won't be an opportunity for me to make a speech, and that's no more a disappointment to me than it is to you.

Indeed, I find my solace in the realization that it wouldn't have been a very good speech. I think it was Dr. Johnson (that's *Samuel Johnson*) who remarked: "One of the last things we men are willing to give up, even in advanced age, is the supposition that we've something to say of interest to the opposite sex."

And then there is also support for an even sharper suggestion, by a social scientist who claims that "to listen to men dilating learnedly on the subject of women is to suffer a positive increase in one's ignorance, for when men speak about women they usually utter prejudice under the impression that it is the truth."

I know that I could not have escaped—had I been called on to make a speech—the cultural lag that statement admits.

I was reminded of it pointedly about 10 days ago when the U.S. Cabinet entertained a substantial part of the Japanese Cabinet. The Minister of Labor from Japan turned out to be a most delightful person. Within 24 hours we were on a basis that allowed him to ask me what was involved in equality of the sexes. He was obviously worried about it. I leaned on a story which will be very old to many of you, and said to him, "Mr. Minister, you don't need to worry about it. There is a lot of talk about it. But the truth of the matter is that we do make a distinction in this country. When we have an issue of no importance at all, the ladies decide it. And when we have an issue of real importance, that's left up to the men."

He listened to the interpreter and I could see the relief spread over his face. He was about to go back to the Orient with his concepts of the proper relationship of things on top. He was about to straighten out his wife that evening as to just what this really meant.

But I had to add the other part of the story and say: "There is one thing, Mr. Minister—the men decide the important things, and the women decide the unimportant things, but it's the women who decide what's important and what is unimportant."

I might as well tell you some of the things I would have talked about if I had made a serious speech tonight.

I'd like to have told you in a very sincere way how much more gallantly I think the ship of state sails now that you are *womanning* the main sails in this Government.

I'd like to have expressed the pleasure there is in working with so many of you here on what are common endeavors.

I'd like to have expressed my admiration for what President Johnson, Mrs. Johnson, and the others have done about eliminating a particular irrelevance—but a very nice irrelevance—between men and women as far as administration of the affairs of Government is concerned. I would have liked to pay my compliments to you who have come from all over the country, who are working to eliminate this same cultural lag from our affairs.

I'd like to have paid my compliments to you and to us in that connection. I'd like to have said, too, that I hope we'll never get to the point of measuring our accomplishments in this particular area on a statistical basis, that is, in terms of the number of women or the number of men who are engaged in particular activities of government. I hope not to come to that point where we have to set up a Men's Bureau in the Department of Labor or a Commission on the Status of Men.

I hope we'll reach very quickly that point of unself-consciousness about this whole thing. I don't think we've quite gotten there yet. The point I'd like to make most is that I hope we'll measure the accomplishments of women.

I don't know whether or not there would have been a poverty program if it hadn't been for the women in government. I rather doubt whether there would have been. I don't know to what extent your contribution to the development of the Civil Rights Program led us to legislation—which had been on our consciences for so long.

I do know that this is an age of human ingenuity as the scientists develop it. And I know it is an age in which we need much human responsibility. These qualities are much closer to some of your instincts than they are to some of ours.

I think you are more interested in responsibilities and men are more interested in rights. And I think that probably we've reached the point where we recognize that our responsibilities are perhaps more important than our rights.



"Liz Carpenter," said Secretary Wirtz, as he resumed his ceremonial duties, "is Special Assistant to the President of the United States, with whom she works very closely. She also assists Mrs. Johnson, for whom she is Press Secretary and Staff Director. She is able to serve the interests of the President and the First Lady *and* the press in a way which, so far as I can tell, has worked out to the complete satisfaction of both sides.

"I'd like to tell one story about her. I read the instructions she wrote when she was handling the train that went through the South last fall—the Lady Bird Special. She posted a notice telling members of the press to be sure to board the train on time when it pulled out. She left these instructions: 'Move swiftly in making the train connection. If you miss the train, contact the station agent. Should you miss him, too, establish residence and vote.'

"I'd like to introduce Liz Carpenter, first, as the wife of a very good friend of ours, Leslie Carpenter, with whom she ran the Washington News Press Bureau for many years; second, as the right hand of the President of the United States and of Mrs. Johnson; but most of all, as one of the most marvelous people I know, in every sense of the word—Mrs. Liz Carpenter."

Excerpts From the Remarks of Mrs. Elizabeth Carpenter, Press Secretary and Staff Director to Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson

Ladies, gentlemen, computers:

I accepted the invitation to make this speech tonight because it is devoted to one of my favor-

ite subjects—sex! It is a subject that John Macy and I talk about frequently as we shuffle through the punchcards. You know Mr. Macy—he got so many women applicants he had to call in IBM. Today, to get a job, you don't compete, you compute. Frankly, I worry about the Computer Age and what it will do.

All of us concerned with what to do with the feminine sex—legally—are well aware of all the things women are doing.

It seems to me that the modern lives of modern women give them two special characteristics good for government and for business. Women are flexible; no job is too big or too small. And they know how to improvise. No other sex can make this claim!

I think something should be done to the punchcards to make these virtues show up. I would like to see what would happen if 20,000 applicants (both male and female) were shuffled through a computer with these questions asked:

(1) Can this applicant read and follow instructions (always written by men) on how to operate the dishwasher, the dryer, the garbage disposal—and then fix them with a bobby pin?

(2) Can this applicant place three children into snowsuits three times a day, retrieve the dog as he invariably attacks the mailman, and run the local art show?

(3) Can this applicant chauffeur the Boy Scout troop, keep dinner delectable for 5 hours, and look like Sophia Loren when *he* finally gets home from the office at midnight?

(4) Can this applicant pack her husband's suitcase, write a speech, and make him think it was all his idea?

These are the things which women *are* doing and which make office jobs seem like child's play. If these qualities counted, Mr. Macy would be submerged with qualified women.

Seeing this group of women doers here tonight, I think back just 4 years ago when Esther Peterson showed up in Vice President Johnson's office on Capitol Hill to talk to him about a national commission on the status of women.

Here you are—the status explosion—44 States represented! I want you to know how much the administration appreciates the time and talent you give to one of the most interesting revolutions underway.

Something has been happening in this country. It needs to happen faster, sometimes more flexibly. After a slow start, our country is "making room for mom."

The big boost occurred one unforgettable morning when President Johnson called on his Cabinet to give women employees a better

chance. No more were we to be treated like a second-class sex. The golden words were: "And report your progress back to me each Friday!"

Things began to happen all over. Promotion applications, gathering dust for months, moved from ingoing to outgoing boxes.

One agency director called my office before the sun had set that day to say, "I want to be the *first* to name a woman to a top job."

I knew we had it made when a very courtly Southern Senator, used to extolling the virtues of Southern womanhood, called up to recommend one of his lady constituents for a Government commission. He didn't say a word about chivalry. "This girl has brains and experience," he said, "and she ought to have the job."

It was a new day in Washington.

This new attitude is spilling out into industry. Marie Smith, the capable reporter for the *Washington Post*, recently interviewed the 10 biggest industries in this country and found each of them eager to brag about their new women employees. U.S. Steel, Chase National Bank, Standard Oil of New Jersey—all are following the President's pattern and bragging about it.

And on the subject of business, I'd like to give a gold star to Eugene Foley, Administrator of the Small Business Administration, who has made speeches throughout the country on loans available to women who want to go into business. "Women have proved a good credit risk," he says. Incidentally, women are taking advantage of these loans. They range from \$200,000 to a woman operating a tugboat business in Alaska to \$200 to two women who started a nursery school for working mothers in Philadelphia.

All it really takes to find superior women is a superior man and his confidence. We have that superior man in the White House who is the most hardworking talent scout of all.

All it is going to take in your States is a superior Governor and an imaginative Commission. Together you can create the climate to regear the thinking of the community. The need will increase tomorrow. If you don't believe it, ask your daughters. Their answers will amaze you.

I was chaperon for my daughter and 29 girls on a weekend at the beach not long ago. Thirty

girls and 30 two-piece bathing suits. I was the only person on the beach in a one-piece bathing suit, but then I was the only one who needed it.

If you have ever been chaperon for teenage girls at the beach, you know each day begins with a twofold mission: to get a tan and get a date. But between these admirable ambitions, if you ask them—as I did—that trite old question: “What do you want to do when you grow up?” you get a unanimous reply. Not one wants to “just get married” or “get married and settle down.” Get married, yes—but they will add, “I want to use my brain. I don’t want to just stay home!”

I don’t think the home has become duller; I think the world has become more exciting, and every human being who has a normal thyroid wants to be involved.

At 16, our daughters have already recognized what we have just come to know—that there are very few Phyllis McGinleys who can find salable poetry in soapsuds. These young women are headed for the marketplace—to find an outlet for their talents, and it is up to you to see that your communities make room for them. For 15 years or more our heroine is tied to the nest, but once in a while she needs to escape, to do a really professional volunteer job or to hold a part-time job. Her family will benefit; she needs to be part of the human family. And what’s more, we need her.

One of the most tangible byproducts of Project Head Start and the national beautification program—which Mrs. Johnson’s leadership has dramatized—is the tremendous number of jobs, paid and volunteer, that it has provided for women. Seventy-six thousand full-time women volunteers are working in Head Start today! No great drive was made to find them; they just wanted to be a part of it.

Women want to be needed. The sad thing is that so often women use little imagination or initiative. And we see some of the results of this in the mounting rate of alcoholism and divorce. I am concerned with those headlines that say: “Today’s Lady Lush is a Suburban Housewife.” I am concerned that we have third-generation divorces.

Something must be lacking in the lives of American women.

It is well that those of us who are interested in improving the status of women ask ourselves: “What is it we are trying to do? Are we trying to find jobs for women? Are we trying to make women happy? Are we trying to give a minority long overdue recognition?”

Yes, to all of these. But that is not the biggest story. It seems to me that what we are trying to do is to give them purpose—*national* purpose.

No human being is happy unless he is totally engaged in life. At no time in our history has our country offered such opportunity for the total involvement of all of its citizens as it has in all the goals of the Great Society. We are in the business of redeeming people. The War on Poverty with its Job Corps, Head Start, remaking cement jungles into livable cities—all these tasks are offering women new horizons. Those who have borne children—who have participated so fully in the creation of human life—surely should be the ones to value it most.

There is something pretty wonderful about women in this country who, for example, spend their afternoons taking groups of Job Corps girls sightseeing or sitting on the mayor’s committee to plan the landscaping of a school.

And don’t tell me that isn’t infinitely more satisfying to the vast majority than winning a rubber of bridge!

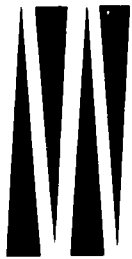
I congratulate you on all you are doing in your States as talent scouts for your governors. I congratulate those of you who have set up volunteer clearinghouses to see that women know where to call to offer their help.

I hope you will go home and sponsor statewide conferences with the big employers. Offer them a good solid agenda with discussions on part-time work for women; what can be done to include women in the management achievement tests. Many exclusions are made more because of thoughtlessness than by intent.

We have a President who has faith in us. We have a First Lady who proves the point. “It is,” as Mrs. Johnson said, “a good time to be a woman, a good time to be alive.”

Together we can achieve the goal put so movingly by Mary Wollstonecraft: “Let us consider women in the grand light of human creatures.”

I do not doubt that it will be done.



"From the last few minutes you know more 'han anyone can tell you what it is like to be in public life and public service in Washington nowadays," the Secretary said as he resumed his duties as master of ceremonies. . . . "I can't be unaware of the fact that Mrs. Carpenter spoke well of only two men in the whole administration—the President and Eugene Foley, of the Small Business Administration. She skipped everybody else except the next speaker. The way the program has been arranged this evening, there's a great man following a great woman. John Macy, the Chairman of the Civil Service Commission and the President's Special Assistant on Personnel, could be the subject of a very long, formal introduction, but I'll only repeat what I said before—I have yet to hear anybody utter a single word of criticism about the next speaker."

Remarks of John W. Macy, Jr., Chairman, Civil Service Commission

I must say that the experience here this evening of being in a distinct minority is so glorious that I hope we can perpetuate it here in Washington as a regular proposition. And believe me, we are trying. Even the computer is trying.

I have a distinct personal satisfaction in being with you this evening and having the opportunity to join in the work that you are pursuing as members of these Commissions on the Status of Women. One of the achievements of the last few years most clearly printed in my

recollection was the work of the President's Commission on the Status of Women at the Federal level, where for a period of nearly 2 years many of us worked together to discuss the fundamental issues—not just of women—but of our society. We had the privilege of working with Eleanor Roosevelt and following her wisdom and compassion in considering these issues and in seeking recommendations that could be passed along to the executive and legislative leadership of our country. And I like to think that out of the inspiration that was provided by Eleanor Roosevelt was formed the catalytic impulse that brought all of us to a consensus of action in the report of that Com-

mission. For that effort produced the motive power which has made it possible for 44 States to emulate this action and to develop programs of similar effort.

My concern in recent years has been with the search for talent for the Federal service. This has been an experience that I will treasure for all time because it has afforded me again a special opportunity to work with people across the country in identifying those men and women who have an interest in their National Government and a desire to contribute their talents for progress. And although there have been jests about the mechanization of this search and references to the prejudice of the computer, let me say that these mechanical devices are entirely subordinated to our President's very human intent to be sure that this is not a stag government, that this is not a government that draws its talent from a limited or confined or exclusive segment of our population, but one that represents the abilities and the commitment of the pluralistic society that we have.

This evening I could play, as I fear I may have in talking to earlier groups, a numbers game. I could pridefully say that the Johnson administration has continued in 1965, as it started in 1964, to appoint and promote record numbers of women. I could enumerate for you a number of specific cases of outstanding women who have been appointed by the President to positions of responsibility. I could list for you the names of women who have been appointed in breakthrough action, where they have been the first women in a particular office or the first women in a particular program.

But your mission here will not be assisted through the recital of boastful statistics. I believe that this is not a quantitative matter. It is a qualitative approach to the fullest possible opportunity for all citizens of this land to participate in the meaningful work that is going forward in Washington and in all the State capitals across the country, in order to make our governments responsive to the needs of the American people in the final decades of the 20th Century. It is an effort to be responsive to the needs that have been brought about by dramatic changes that have occurred in our society, in our technology, and in our population. All too fre-

quently we fail to recognize the magnitude of those changes and how our adaptation to those changes can be brought about only through leadership. An ever-broadening group of people in public life must provide that leadership and carry forward the execution of these programs.

And so I find that as we search the country not only for those to fill top positions, but those to enter careers in public service, we are endeavoring to exercise the purpose that the President has articulated of making Government a showcase of equal opportunity. We are endeavoring to demonstrate not only that we are prejudice-free but that we extend the welcome to all citizens to compete for entry into the service. We should work in every community to assure that conditions exist whereby all citizens may become equipped with the characteristics, the traits, and the talents that will permit them to compete for public service. This is the affirmative task that we see. This is the affirmative task in which we would like to enlist all of you.

The President believes that Government has a special responsibility to establish a climate of equality, and it would seem to me that in each of the 50 States your Governors and the groups that you represent will wish to emulate this approach in your own State governments. Hopefully you can pass this on to the thousands of municipalities which also serve a public service. Today in this country, nearly one out of seven of those gainfully employed is in public service. As I recall it, the Labor Department figures show that, taking all government services, the area of greatest job growth—or job creation as we are now taught to use the phrase—has been in the public sector. And we should not view this with alarm, because the growth is occurring in the ranks of teachers and in the services that are rendered to the American people by their government in response to their needs.

And so my plea would be that when you return you impress upon those who have personnel responsibilities in State and local government to pick up the search and make certain that all sources of manpower and womanpower are tapped, and that a particularly special effort is made to reach the women in the community and to point out to them that there are not men's

jobs or women's jobs in the public service but that all who possess the talent are eligible to compete.

But this evening we have made it all sound too easy. Government is complex. We become neurotic if we look for simple answers. The simplest approach does not reach forward to the goals that we are seeking. It must be an approach that recognizes the problems, difficulties, residual prejudices, and inherent discriminations that still exist.

In the Civil Service Commission, as a part of the President's Commission on the Status of Women's effort, we conducted a study in depth of the attitudes of supervisors and fellow employees within the Federal service. We found that men employees to a large degree had negative reactions toward women supervisors, particularly if they had never been supervised by a woman. And we found that there were certain rather tired myths that could be disproved, but nevertheless were believed, about how women tend to leave the job with greater frequency than men, how they tend to be absent more often, how they tend to be less reliable in terms of technical skills. We found that these beliefs were prevalent even though they are not supported by fact. And all of us who have managerial responsibility have an obligation, which we are endeavoring to spread throughout the Federal service, to overcome these supervisory attitudes, and in overcoming them to make equal opportunity a reality.

We know for a fact that it does take longer for a woman who is qualified equally with a man to reach the top in public service. We know that frequently a woman must possess a higher level of education than a man competing with her. These facts are shown in the history of the past few years. These are conditions which we need to face. They are conditions that are not going to be corrected overnight. They are conditions that call for a willingness on the part of management to face change—not only face it but become a force leading to it.

I recall the comment of one supervisor made not so long ago. He said that he could not use a woman on this particular job because it called for lifting and moving heavy boxes of punch-cards. These boxes weighed 50 pounds and had

to be carried from one end of the room to the other. Nobody had suggested that perhaps they could be broken up into smaller boxes, or even better, that some kind of a dolly conveyor could be designed so that nobody needed to lift them at all. In fact, the antifeminist argument because of weightlifting seems to me to be one that could clearly be outmoded because, as I view Federal operations, I find new devices that are in use so that men do not lift much these days either.

I will never forget the argument that was advanced in 1962 as a reason for not hiring women. This was an argument that the job called for a great deal of traveling. I can still recall the amused smile on Mrs. Roosevelt's face as she heard that one.

So many of these are correctable oppositions. But corrective action needs to be brought into play.

As I look at the Federal employment scene and endeavor to forecast what is ahead of us, I am increasingly impressed with the changing mix in employment—a mix that will in time result in a higher proportion of Federal positions of a professional and technical nature, and a higher proportion of positions that call for an ever greater degree of education. The positions of leadership and management are those of the most critical importance and, where perhaps the greatest shortage exists, will be those that require advanced education of a very substantial content.

We need to join together to do anything we possibly can to encourage more women to remain in the educational system. There has been an increase in recent years, but not the increase that the proportion of women in the population clearly indicates. The figures that Mary Keyserling has from the Women's Bureau are particularly alarming, for they show that on a relative basis there are fewer women entering graduate school at the present time than a number of years ago. At a time when we need a greater supply in order to afford equal opportunity, there is potentially a lesser supply.

If we compare our professional resources in this country with those of certain countries in Western Europe, we will find that there are fewer women in America who are doctors or

lawyers. As I recall Marguerite Rawalt's figures, only 2 to 4 percent of the members of the bar are women. In government, where a large number of positions call for legal training, this in itself is going to be a restricting factor on the consideration of an appropriate number of women for entry into these jobs. The task of encouraging participation in a greater number of years of education is not a job that can be done by government. It is a job that needs to be done throughout our society. I think perhaps it is a job that needs to be done more by fathers than by any other people in our society. Fathers need to abandon the assumption that their daughters really cannot learn math, or that it's not quite feminine to major in physics or chemistry, or that the engineering degree is strictly a male degree. This, it seems to me, is at the core of the future in producing the full utilization of feminine ability.

I would agree with Liz Carpenter that the talents displayed by American women are multiple and significant. These talents do have a transferability to the day-to-day work scene. But in the complexity that will face us in an increasingly technological age, they will still not be enough. They will need to have the higher levels of education as well. And we must find ways in which to work to encourage the continued education, to extend the opportunity. To me this is a problem that is worthy of consideration in each of your Commissions.

Only this past month I have been endeavoring to find a woman with the requisite professional technical and business qualifications for a major vacancy in the Federal Government where the President is eager to appoint a woman. And let me tell you that his eagerness has a daily application on all jobs. I have now adopted as my theme song that delightful old tune *Every Day Is Ladies' Day With Me*.¹ And let me tell you also that Lyndon Johnson never lets me forget that that's the theme song. But I have found in this particular case that, as we have reviewed name after name, it is difficult to find the kind of educational background and experience that really is necessary to meet the qualifications for this particular post.

¹ Victor Herbert, *The Red Mill*, New York, N.Y., M. Whitmark & Son, 1906.

But lest you feel that my sole concern is for those who are involved in or prepare themselves for the highest type of appointment, let me urge that we consider the disadvantaged woman in our society as well. This woman must find work, and rewarding work in a compensatory sense, in order to sustain her family. Again and again, in the course of our deliberations in the President's Commission, Dorothy Height brought us back to this particular reality. I hope there is a Dorothy Height on every one of your Commissions so that you will not lose sight of the many women who must work out of necessity. We must provide the means to make it possible for them to work. We must protect them on the job. Protective measures are not outmoded. They are not inconsistent with equality of opportunity. We need to assure ourselves that we are doing this as a part of the effort to eliminate poverty, and as a part of the effort to raise the quality of life for all Americans.

We need to recognize that we will not have immediate results. There is no such thing as instant equal opportunity. This is not a potion to which we can add water and then stir with good will and hope to have immediate results. There must be continuing effort and intelligence and a willingness to try new approaches. We have in this country the leadership that calls for these new approaches. It is evident here this evening in the presence of so many of you who have, I know, extensive obligations and other commitments. Your presence here evidences the fact that this is a movement that has stretched across the land and throughout the States. Those of us who have been working in this field salute you. We welcome your enlistment in this effort, in this continuing and sustaining effort to see to it that equal opportunity is a reality for all Americans and that the basic values of our system, the spiritual, the intellectual as well as the material, are provided for an ever greater number. Through the existence of conditions of equality and through the action of our governments, we can assure that this is not just a matter of right, but a matter of assistance and a matter of forward progress for every person in this country.

Thank you so much.

THURSDAY SESSION—THE VIEW FROM THE SUMMIT

Thursday provided the summit view. Leaders of the National Government, from President Lyndon Baines Johnson down, spoke to the Conference frankly and seriously about their problems, their hopes, and their need for help. For those who came from the four corners of the Nation, the day brought understanding of the national implications of the work they do at home, inspiration to work harder, and a realization that they are part of a group working for ideas which stretch beyond local, State, and national boundaries.

The meeting convened at 9 a.m. Miss Margaret Hickey, Chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women, presided. She called first for a moment of silent meditation as an expression of our "deep sense of commitment to the greatness and the goodness for which our Nation works and stands." She then introduced Esther Peterson, Vice Chairman of the Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women, who spoke the official words of welcome.

It was her job, Esther Peterson said, ". . . to behave like an accordion . . ." and fill whatever span of time elapsed before the arrival of Vice President Humphrey.

Mrs. Peterson reported that we are in Phase II of Operation Status of Women. Phase I started back in 1961, outside the door of the Senate floor, when she was told that she could have just enough of an appropriation to assemble a distinguished national commission on the status of women and enable it to issue a good report. "If we have a good idea, it will be picked up," she had said then. Evidence abounds that the idea was worthy. Now, in Phase II, 44 Commissions in the States are molding ideas and changing patterns.

Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz introduced the next speaker. "If there is a warm-hearted man in the country," the Secretary said, "who believes in all the human values, and who has spelled that belief out, into a program of action which has won him the affection and the respect of every single person in this country, it is Hubert H. Humphrey, the Vice President of the United States."

Excerpts From the Address of Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States

I am happy to join Secretary Wirtz today and to speak to you who are here representing the Governors' Commissions on the Status of Women.

I am not here as a professional in this matter. I have tried to dedicate my life to encouraging people to participate to their fullest ability in the life of this Nation and the life of their community.

Along with President Johnson, I believe in the importance of using talent. I could not help but note, as I gathered together a few choice words for this morning, the President's own words, which I believe should influence our thought, study, and action.

The President said: "We can waste no talent; we can frustrate no creative power; we can neglect no skill in our search for an open and just and challenging society." This has been the philosophy, this has been the commitment of the President of the United States and his administration. What he is saying is that America needs everyone. . . . Our Nation needs all the talent and all the potential talent that it has.

I cannot help but think this morning about the message the President gave us yesterday (the President's televised press conference on Vietnam). I hope you will read it very carefully. . . .

On the one hand the President, in his deep sense of commitment to our responsibilities, stated unequivocally that we will resist aggression. . . . That is what was given the emphasis, and it was important. But what also was important was the fact that this President spoke as a peacemaker, not as a warrior. . . . The President understands that peace means more than the absence of war. He knows that peace means a full life. Peace is positive, not negative; it is dynamic, not static. In other words, it is the process of life, and it is the process of change. It is another word for progress; another word for achievement; another word for the release of the great potential of mankind.

The work that you are doing is related to this very theme of peace. . . . When you work on your State Commission, your efforts are directed toward removing discriminatory laws that impede women's full participation in the life of our Nation and in the life of your community. You seek to improve the general condition of a community, so that everyone may be a little freer to make something out of his or her life. You seek to upgrade education.

Now, I have all sorts of statistics. . . . In the 1964 high school graduating classes about 51 percent were girls, but of the group that went on to college in the fall only 45 percent were girls. The American woman's record for college attendance has not been as high as we would like. . . .

I believe that every person ought to have a pretty good basic grounding in the humanities. I believe in science and technology, of course. I know that it is important that we have people in engineering; people who are capable of working in our great space installations; people who are competent in medicine, biology, all of the life sciences. But it is also important that we have people who understand our culture, who understand what we call the humanities and the social sciences, because, really, we need to know how to live together as well as to know how life came about.

We need to know not only how to build bridges across rivers but how to build bridges between people and nations. We need not only to know how to explore the wonders of outer space, but also to understand something about the workings of inner man—his mind, his spirit. I happen to be Chairman of the Space Council, and I am very proud of that assignment. I see much good coming out of our endeavors in the field of space. . . . But I cannot help but say that any nation that is able and willing to invest \$30 billion to put a man on the moon ought to be willing to make the necessary investments to help put people on their feet. That is what we are really trying to do now, in our programs to create a Great Society. . . .

Just look at what is happening today in the attack on poverty. We are not trying to make poverty more tolerable. I want you ladies and

gentlemen to know that. That is not the purpose. I first graduated in pharmacy; I know a little bit about pain relievers, but to relieve pain doesn't get at the disease or the malfunction. . . .

What we are trying to do is get at the root causes of poverty. We are trying to pinpoint the economics of poverty—the sociology of poverty. We are trying to root out the sense of hopelessness and helplessness that grips people who are locked in the prison of poverty.

In the process, we are going to be making some mistakes, exactly the same way we make mistakes when we do research in the field of space. When we start to spend money on research directed toward understanding the root causes of poverty, I just know I will hear some self-styled practical soul say, "Well, there they go again, those boondogglers, those wasters."

The greatest waste in the world would be *not* to look for and find the root cause. We have to make the investment now to try to find some answers. We need everybody's help. . . .

You are advocating equal treatment and equal opportunity for people who have much to give—American women. Our women are charming and gracious; many of them are extremely gifted and able. We need to continue what has been started in government and in industry—we must give people an opportunity to be hired and promoted on the basis of merit—just merit! This will encourage our daughters and our sons, too. We hope it will encourage our daughters to train themselves for more responsible social, economic, and civic service. There is no real conflict between being a fine, gracious, and loving woman and a very capable one, too. . . .

We know that both in government and in business we have been missing a great potential.

President Johnson set out, in the first days of his administration, to do something about placing larger numbers of capable women in responsible Government positions. Since January 1964 he has appointed 114 women to high-level positions. They are making tremendous contributions. They ought to be looked at and talked about and thought of simply as administrators, or public servants, or participants in the process of government.

John Macy, as Chairman of the Civil Service Commission, has taken the President's message seriously. As I recall, Government agencies have appointed or promoted over 2,800 women to jobs paying \$10,000 or more a year. . . .

Well, as I told you, I did not come here as an expert. I came here to commend you; I came here to encourage you. I hope that when you go back you will tell your Governors that you have received the word. Tell them that the people in Washington have recommended that you proceed forthwith with what you are doing, and that you obtain more results at State and local levels. . . .

I want to wish you well in your proceedings.

I thank you very much for coming to Washington to remind us once again of our duties and responsibilities.

I hope that you will go back to your communities, expressing even greater enthusiasm for what you seek to do. I hope also that you take back with you a better understanding of your Government's mission in these trying days.

Thank you.



Before leaving for the White House, State Commission chairmen briefed the Conference on implementation of their reports. The conferees were transported to the White House and reassembled on the South Lawn to hear President Johnson's message.

Remarks of Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States

Here at the White House I have many opportunities to speak to many distinguished visitors. But it is a very rare and very welcome pleasure to meet with a group that is both so distinguished and so attractive as this.

In this house where I live, women have a 3 to 1 ratio in their favor. And I don't mind—at least most of the time. But there are moments when, like most husbands and fathers, I wish there were a Commission on the Status of Men to submit some of my grievances to.

I am glad that you could come here today. You represent the Commissions on the Status of Women that were created by Governors of 44 States. When the Governors themselves are here at 5 o'clock this afternoon, I am going to congratulate them on your work, which I have been observing.

You are carrying forward in your States and cities the work begun by the national Commission under that very great, grand, and lovely lady—Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt. You are looking at the problems as they exist in your own areas; you are seeking solutions that are appropriate to the people of your own sections. The diversity of your outlook and approach is quite heartening and very helpful.

I could talk to you this morning about statistics—statistics on the status of women in the Federal Government. I am very proud that since becoming President, I have found it possible to, on the basis of merit, appoint 114 women to major positions in this Government, and almost 3,000 other women have received appointments or promotions to the highest grades in our career service.

But statistics are not our first concern. Our first concern must be, and is, people. And in

our society, rich and strong and successful as it is, people—individual people—face increasingly complex and very severe personal challenges. And I am so glad that you are helping in the search for solutions to some of those challenges, especially those challenges which beset women who are both breadwinners and mothers.

While we seek to advance women to their rightful place at the top of the ladder of this society, we must never forget and never neglect those women who stand insecurely and uncertainly on the lower rungs. I think especially of the mothers who face the uncertainties of the marketplace, the heartbreaking dilemmas of impoverished households, without training, often without motivation, very often without even the barest decencies of life, or even the emotional support of a husband.

Our society and its success is built around a family unit. And despite all of our advances and all of our gains, we must never neglect the fact that that unit—the family unit—has been attacked and has collapsed among a significant number of citizens in this country. This blight has hit a disproportionate number of individuals, particularly in our minority groups—especially the Negro. But it is not confined to one group. It is not confined to one income level. All through our society, in suburbia as well as in the slums, we are challenged to strengthen the family unit and to help our mothers, especially, find meaning for their lives and find answers for their burdening responsibilities.

A President must, in times like these, often weigh decisions that are great and that are grave—and most of the time they are grim. But I am always mindful and I never forget that in our complex and our changing, constantly challenging society, the most urgent

human problem facing millions of our citizens is the matter of self, the matter of identity, the matter of purpose in life. The answers that we help others find to such questions matter greatly to the kind of society that we are going to fashion, and matter greatly to the strength that we will need to meet the great tests of our destiny as a great people.

The American woman has a challenging responsibility to meet in this country. Whether she puts her knowledge to use in her home community or in Washington matters very little. What really does matter is that the collective wisdom of women never be lost and never be left unused as we face the serious tests and the soaring programs before us now.

There are many sources of strength that a President must call upon and must summon in trying periods, and I am happy to say that in this great land of ours I have never found those strengths wanting, and I have never found them hesitant. But I know of no more inspiring and stimulating and confidence-building and tenacious contributions that have been made to me in the 20 months than those that have come from the women of our land—the grandmothers, the mothers, the wives, the daughters, the sweethearts, yes, even the babies.

I have on my desk a stack of letters that involve distress, depression, death, wounds. Most of them relate to Vietnam where our men are trying to help other peoples have their freedom just as we obtained ours almost 200 years ago. One lady told me, "We just had 7 months together, but, oh, what a beautiful 7 months it was. And I am proud that I picked the kind of a husband that loved his country enough so that he would give his life to try to see that other peoples of other lands had the choice that we have in this country."

Another mother wrote me and said that her boy had lost his leg and had a little difficulty getting it replaced so he could walk without great pain, but that he could endure that if I could only get him reassigned back to Vietnam where he could go and carry on with his boys against the problems that they face there.

Another lady wrote me the other day and said she is from a southern State and she said, "I

want to tell you how proud I am of our country, and our Government, and our Congress, and our President for standing up and facing the enemy and not appeasing and not putting off and not letting happen to us what happened in World Wars I and II—go on until we almost lose before we decide what has happened." She said, "I have three boys and one of them died in Vietnam, another was wounded in the Dominican Republic, and the third one enlisted to be a paratrooper, to take his training in Texas. And I want to tell you how proud I am of the leadership that is coming." That was just too much for me, and I picked up the phone and I said get me that lady up here because I want to talk to her because she has something I need—for the problems I face. She came, she saw, and she conquered.

When she went away, I felt more equal to my responsibilities and more concerned and more compassionate about all of the people in this country.

I looked yesterday at a number of women who I would hope could serve on the highest court of our land—where one has never served. I didn't select one because when I do, I want it to be absolutely without question the best person—male or female—available for that post. I have appointed some women to the Federal judiciary, some to high places in the executive departments, some to the Atomic Energy Commission.

The one thing I need from you more than anything else, aside from your leadership in your local communities, is for you to take your eyes, and your ears, and your head, and your heart, and your heels, and try to develop for me the most outstanding women in this country who could be available to lead the people of this country. There are many places that we need to fill. If we only could find the brilliant, the trained, those with mind and heart, who are there but whom we haven't been able to put our fingers on. You can do that for me. If you don't get the proper kind of response from me, take it up with Lady Bird because she and Liz Carpenter mount that door all the time and put questionnaires to me about what I have been doing for women lately.

Thank you for coming. God bless you all.

After lunch, Senator Maurine B. Neuberger of Oregon, member of the President's Commission on the Status of Women, provided Conference participants with practical pointers about the problems of women in politics.

Esther Peterson introduced her: "Long before the word 'consumer' became a popular word in Government circles, Senator Neuberger sought to make the consumer market a matter of public policy. She has always had a special touch. When the House was debating a bill to allow manufacturers to color margarine, she brought a bag of it to the floor of the House and showed her fellow Congressmen just what housewives had to do to mix the color in. She put on a practical, womanly demonstration. She made her point. The bill passed."

Excerpts From the Remarks of Senator Maurine B. Neuberger

As each of you representatives of the Governors' Commissions stood when Margaret Hickey introduced you, I saw you in terms of your Senators. Perhaps this is a good mental reaction, because many of the things that you wish to accomplish will come because you present your ideas personally to your Senators, and to your Representatives in Congress. . . .

In the very few minutes that I have, I want to tell you about a field that I know something about but I am afraid some of you don't know enough about. This is the field of politics.

Of course, I know something about women, too. I am often asked a question by my colleagues and by people who are concerned with getting recognition for women, "Well, if they are so good, and they are so able, and they are so deserving, why are not more women in politics?"

I give them two answers. One is mainly that women don't try. There is a very logical reason for the other answer, and it was brought home to me as I worked during those 2 years on the President's Commission on the Status of Women.

At the time men are out participating in Junior Chamber of Commerce activities, or getting acquainted in their fields of business or their profession, women are at home with small children. As those children get a little bit older and can be left with a babysitter or in a day nursery, women who know the importance of college education for their children often seek employment to augment the family's income.

We have found that most women who work would prefer not to work. They would prefer to stay home and rear their families. They work for economic reasons. There may be ex-

ceptions to this, of course. If women are professionals—lawyers, doctors, or teachers—they often want to pursue their professions. But most women who might be interested in laying the groundwork for a career in politics are at home at the time men are getting political careers started.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce—which I will use as an example—selects a "Man of the Year" in most communities. He is a man that has given time to the United Fund, to the TB drive, to the polio drive. He has contributed to the community.

This puts his name in the newspaper. We who live in the political world know how important it is to get the name publicized. No matter what the name is connected with, just get it in print. . . .

Women also have another handicap. That is due to their training. It is a little difficult for them to take the kind of public criticism that is thrown at politicians by the press and by political enemies. From childhood on we are brought up to be modest. We attempt to deprecate our accomplishments somewhat.

In political life, we have to do just the opposite. When I used to set out on a door-to-door campaign, the hardest thing for me to do was to tell people, "I am better than my opponent. Vote for me!" And the minute your name is out there in the front, you are fair game for all the criticism. Everything you ever did in your whole life is raked up and thrown at you. And you must learn to say to yourself, "Virtue is its own reward. I have confidence in myself. I am going on and do what I know is right." And you somehow or other surmount it. . . .

Once women are in politics, they must expand their interests. One day, the Speaker of the House of Representatives in Oregon came to me and said, "Maurine, I am going to appoint you

to an interim committee." I assumed it was going to be on education, because I had been a teacher. He said, "It is going to be on taxation and revenue." My mouth fell open. I was abashed. I said, "But, Woodie, I don't know anything about taxation and revenue." And he said to me, "Look, if you are going to go into politics, and you are going to be a member of a political body, you ought to know something about these things." So I said, "Okay, you are right. I will accept, and learn. . . ."

We women have a special bent in the field of education. . . . In fact election to a school board or a school committee is often the first step women take toward other political activity. Women have never before had such an opportunity for service as they have now. . . .

Young women, in all of our communities, no longer have to look forward to staying home and working in pop's business in Oregon, or Oklahoma, or wherever it is.

The Peace Corps calls them, or diplomacy, or international business, finance, or various government departments. All these make use of women, but women must have the education to prepare for these jobs. They ought to learn languages. . . .

Several years ago, we set up the Federal Women's Award to call attention to the fine work done by women in Government who often go unsung and unrecognized. The chief sponsor of the award is Mrs. Katie Louchheim, who is Deputy Assistant Secretary of State. She works particularly with women's affairs. The award has called attention to women who are doing yeoman work in all kinds of professional fields, in the Labor Department; the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare; the National Institutes of Health; NASA; CIA; and other departments.

Just a few short weeks ago, the President appointed Dr. Penelope Thunberg, who had recently received one of the Federal Women's Awards, to be a member of the Tariff Commission. This is an area that is usually reserved for men, and I wondered whether the fact that Dr. Thunberg had received an award had anything to do with her appointment. When we had a Women's Award board meeting I investigated. "Penelope has been working with the CIA," I said. "She is a remarkable woman. Don't you

think that her virtues and her contributions would have been recognized even if she *hadn't* received an award?" Everyone there said, "No. The very fact that we have called attention to her ability has helped to promote her to that position." Sometimes it does take a special kind of publicity and attention to get women ahead.

This is one of the virtues and values of the work your State Commissions are doing. You are focusing attention on women. You are finding women who can be made known to us who are in a position to appoint them. If you people in the States would keep your elected representatives informed of capable women who are available for service, it would be a very great help. . . .

Women are deterred from entering politics because of another factor. Politics is the science of government. Politicians have to deal with things in our daily experience and try to make this a better world for all of us. But there is still a connotation that politics is a dirty word.

Some of that feeling comes about because of a system in this country which is deplorable and which we are trying to change—the high cost of getting elected to public office. A woman hates to go around to her friends and say, "I am going to run for office. I need a campaign chest of \$50,000—\$100,000." If you live in a very heavily populated State, the cost of a campaign can run into millions of dollars, for an office that is only going to pay during its entire term, maybe \$60,000 or \$180,000. It is too bad that money plays such an important part in politics. But if you get a contribution from some group, whether it is a labor union or the National Association of Manufacturers, you surely have some kind of obligation to that organization.

You all know that the Senate of the United States has been involved now for some 2 years with the conflict-of-interest problem that casts its shadow over our integrity. Lying at the root of conflict of interest is campaign spending. People get very involved in raising money for elections, and the process is vicious. It is hard to get out from under.

There is a word we don't like to use—bribery. Bribery is a sin. It is against the law. It is punishable by heavy fine and imprisonment. Yet, I sometimes wonder if there is not a pretty fine line of distinction between bribery and campaign donations. It just depends on the way

you ask for a donation, or the way you respond to one you receive. . . .

It is humiliating to have to go around and ask for money. For that reason, I have long sponsored bills to try to get some financial assistance from the Government for running elections.

But despite the handicaps, there are so many rewards for being in politics that, as I often say, none of the college degrees I have attained have been as important—or as valuable—as the degree I have earned being a Senator and working on legislation.

Congress has passed many laws that I thought it never would. And on the other hand, some of the bills that I feel very strongly about don't even get a committee hearing.

Passing a law takes a long time. As I said, perhaps the first time it is introduced it doesn't even get a committee hearing. Maybe the next year, it gets a hearing in the committee and they vote it down. The year after that, you may manage to get it passed out of the committee but it doesn't get to calendar call. After you follow it through all the stages of the calendar call, you can't get it called up for a vote. Eventually it is called up for a vote and passes the Senate. Then difficulty may come up in the House. (Or this situation may be reversed.) But finally the wonderful day comes, and your bill passes both the House and the Senate. Then you get that marvelous call: "Come down to the White House and witness the signing of the bill you worked on."

Let me tell you what happened last year when the bill for Medical Education was passed. On the day that the bill passed the Senate without a dissenting vote, Senator Lister Hill, who is extremely interested in health research and medical aid, came over and sat down next to me. He patted me on the shoulder and said, "Maurine, 10 long years!" I said, "What do you mean?" "Ten long years I have had that bill," Senator Hill repeated. It had gone through the whole gambit that I just described to you. And then it passed without a dissenting vote.

Of course, an educational process had gone on through all those years, and many people like you were writing to their Congressmen about the need and importance of this legislation.

Well, I am going to conclude with just one admonition. We have important legislation before us right now in the Senate. I am talking about consumer legislation. It is in the committee. I hope it is not going to stay there.

The people who need consumer education don't have it. All of us can use it, but usually it is the family that needs every penny that needs it most.

Consumer education, though, goes far beyond the grocery store, and the cents off, and the 6¾ ounces, and all these nuances. Consumer education has broader implications. For example, we have just given you a great rebate in excise taxes. Women are greatly affected by it because of the long-time nuisance of the excise tax on handbags and cosmetics. But it is up to you to see that you get the benefit of it. We cannot lead you consumers by the hand up and down grocery stores and drugstores. The people who testified before our committee on the packaging bill said, "Women don't care. The consumer doesn't care. She just goes and buys something she sees advertised."

"Well," I said, "You ought to read my mail. It doesn't indicate that."

Let me tell you this one story in closing. One of the excise taxes just removed is the tax on safety deposit boxes.

There was a banker in a certain town in the Middle West—the State shall be nameless. I don't want to disparage any of its good representatives who are here. He wrote a letter to the holders of safety deposit boxes in his town. "Dear Customer," he said, "You will note that the bill for your safety deposit box is the same as it was before the excise tax was removed. This has been necessary because of increased costs in personnel, etc., etc., etc." (Of course, he did not tell them that other taxes that he paid were removed, too.) "We thought that you would prefer this method of paying the increased cost rather than have the tax deducted and another cost added to your bill. Sincerely yours." If those consumers don't let him know what they think, they deserve the treatment they get.

But I feel more hopeful now than I have in the past, because I know that you and your Commissions are taking an interest in all of these activities, so pertinent not only to women but to all of the people of our country.

Popular demand brought to Mary Keyserling the assignment she had filled so admirably at the Conference of Governors' Commissions held in 1964. The topic which she discussed at the afternoon session—*The Challenges Ahead*—allowed her to highlight unfinished business of high priority in the perspective afforded by an understanding of progress already made.

"Mrs. Keyserling's role as Director of the Women's Bureau culminates a career of distinguished public service," Miss Hickey said in introducing her. "For 10 years, she was the Associate Director of the Conference on Economic Progress. She held high-level posts in the Federal Government during the 10 preceding years. Before World War II she was General Secretary of the National Consumers League and taught economics at Sarah Lawrence College. She is good-humored, concise, provocative—a warm friend—a woman who gives much in the way of encouragement."

Address of Mary Dublin Keyserling, Director, U.S. Women's Bureau

The womanpower of our country comprises half of our human resources, and every one of us in this room knows that this great potential resource is not being drawn on to the extent it should be. Our efforts to assure equality of opportunity for women everywhere is a response to their deepest personal aspirations. Even more important, it is a response to the growing desire of women to contribute more effectively to the world around them—to assume larger responsibilities in helping to meet the unique challenges of our times.

The President's Commission on the Status of Women made 48 recommendations. None was more important than the recommendation that State Commissions be set up throughout our land. Who could have foreseen, on that day when *American Women*, the Report of the Commission, was presented to the President—just a little more than a year and a half ago—that so many groups such as yours would be established and would be undertaking so much constructive work?

Last October a Progress Report was sent to President Johnson by the Citizens' Advisory Council and the Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women. This report told the story of how far we had traveled toward the implementation of the President's Commission's recommendations. It began: "No year since the passage of the 19th Amendment in 1920 can be compared to the period of October 1963 to October 1964 in terms of new opportunities offered to women." When the next report goes to the President this fall there will be much more to relate.

The pace of progress has been immeasurably quickened by President Johnson's leader-

ship. He has made the upgrading of women in our economy a prime national objective.

Federal and State legislatures have responded to the recommendations of our Commissions, and are themselves searching out additional ways to help open doors to opportunity. Institutions and agencies throughout the country are joining in constructive action.

I have been asked, however, not to spend my time reviewing additional accomplishments, splendid as they are. My assignment is to raise just a few questions, which some of you may want to explore more fully, and to point out some of the unfinished business on our Commissions' agendas.

No area was of greater concern to the President's Commission on the Status of Women, and no area is of greater concern to you, than education. It is in this field that we have perhaps made the greatest progress in the past year and a half. I can think of no period in our history when more significant Federal legislation has been enacted to improve and expand school services and facilities at all educational levels.

Equally significant for women is the ferment of educational activity at the State and local levels. During the past 6 years there has been a 33-percent increase in the number of participants in classes for adults. There has been a far more rapid increase than ever before in the number of junior colleges and community colleges. We are facing with growing realism the needs of mature women who want to prepare effectively for reentry into the labor force or for community services. One recent survey indicates that there are more than 1,300 programs of continuing education available to women.

Conferences and institutes called by the Governors' Commissions have been stimulating other organizations to provide the widest range

of creative opportunity. At least two Commission reports urged programs similar to Project Head Start before this became a national concept.

Gratifying as are these gains, we should recognize that great gaps still remain. Are we, for instance, doing enough to help develop constructive suggestions with respect to the school dropout problem? Of the 4 million girls 16 to 21 years of age who were not in school in February 1963, 43 percent had left before graduating from high school. Of these, one-fifth had never attended high school; and among this fifth, nearly half had completed less than 8 years of schooling. Of the nonwhite girls, 16 to 21 years of age, not in school, 55 percent had not graduated from high school, compared with 39 percent of the white girls.

In an even broader perspective, among all women aged 18 and over, 28 percent have had only 8 or fewer years of elementary education. These, the acutely disadvantaged in educational terms, we must never lose sight of, as we press for opportunities for continuing education at the higher levels.

In today's world, the advantage of higher education is imperative for all young men and women. Yet proportionately only three-fifths as many women as men 25 years of age and over are college graduates.

Indeed, some of the imbalances are becoming more severe. Women obtained 40 percent of all master's and other second level degrees in 1930, but only 31 percent in 1963. Similarly, while in 1930 women earned 15 percent of all doctorates and equivalent degrees, by 1963 their share had fallen to less than 11 percent.

Perhaps these trends have some bearing on the fact that only 20 percent of our college and university faculty members today are women. It was 28 percent 25 years ago. The proportion today of women on these faculties is lower than it was back in 1910, when women constituted a far smaller part of the student body than they do now.

A recent report of the National Education Association stated: "If the future is forecast in the light of the present and recent past, few [women] will ever become principals, supervisors, department heads, and superintendents . . ." in our public schools.

Why did NEA say this?

In 1928, 55 percent of our elementary principals were women; by 1961, the percentage of women in these positions in our urban school districts was only 37 percent. In 1950 to 1951, 12 percent of our junior high school principals and 6 percent of our senior high school principals were women. Today, women hold less than 4 percent of these secondary school principalships.

Only one woman is now serving as a State superintendent of education; eight so served in 1925. In 1962 there were only 222 women serving as superintendents and assistant superintendents in our urban school districts; 765 women served in these capacities in 1939.

Your Commissions have a job to do in probing the factors underlying these striking changes in the status of women in education. What guidelines can we develop in helping to reverse trends which are not only inimical to women but which are hurtful to all?

With respect to employment, women are making important headway. They have sought jobs and have found them. Over 45 percent of all women 18 to 64 years of age are in the labor force today. Women are in every one of the more than 400 employment categories of the Bureau of the Census. And it is now estimated that nearly half of the new entrants into the labor force between 1964 and 1970 will be women.

Title VII of the Federal Civil Rights Act now prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of sex. This opens up a great new potential for achieving equality of opportunity in employment for women. Nine States and the District of Columbia have a similar prohibition in their statutes.

The passage of the Federal Equal Pay Act was a great step forward, implementing a recommendation of the President's Commission. Now, 25 States have similar laws and 4 others have fair employment practices laws prohibiting discrimination in pay based on sex.

In response to a recommendation of the President's Commission, a Presidential directive has been issued which requires that hirings and promotions in the Federal service be on the basis of qualification and merit alone without regard to sex.

You heard President Johnson say this morning that he has appointed 114 highly qualified

women to top posts. More than 550 others have been appointed by the Federal agencies. Between 1962 and the end of 1964, the number of women in the top seven grade classifications increased 23 percent.

But this forward movement in the Federal service is a great deal better than the record of the economy as a whole. Of all women who worked in 1963, only one-half of 1 percent had annual money incomes from all sources of \$10,000 or more.

Only 3 percent of the Nation's lawyers are women; only 6 percent of its physicians are women.

What about women in management? A recent article on that subject in the Harvard Business Review stated: "The barriers [to women in management] are so great there is scarcely anything to study." The article reports that the process of breaking down the barriers cannot be observed "... since this occurs so rarely, at present." And a later issue of the same review reports that since 1950 there has been no observable increase in the proportion of female to male executives.

To be sure, among college graduates who are now in the age group in which women are most likely to be employed—the group between 45 and 54—68 percent were in the labor force in 1963. But the figures would seem to indicate that they, like so many of their less privileged sisters, are all too often and, in fact increasingly, concentrated in jobs which fail to make adequate use of their skill and training.

Indeed, during the past 15 years, there has been a significant and steady decline in the percentage of women among all workers in the professional, technical, and kindred occupations; in contrast, there has been a sizable increase in the proportion of clerical and service jobs held by women.

Aside from this problem of room at the top, what about general adequacy of income? Here we have made great strides in recent years. The median wage or salary of women working year round and full time, measured in dollars of constant purchasing power, approximately doubled during the period from 1929 to 1963.

This is progress of which we can be rightfully proud. However, because the median wage of men similarly employed increased even a little more rapidly, the gap between men's and wom-

en's wages has widened. Today, the median wage of women in this employment category—that is working year round, full time—is 59 percent that of men. By contrast, in 1955, it was 65 percent—six points higher.

One of the bright aspects of the wage story is that the earnings of nonwhite women working full time and year round—the lowest group on the wage totem pole—have increased the most rapidly over the years, more than tripling from 1939 to 1963, measured in dollars of constant purchasing power. The median wage of these nonwhite women is now 64 percent that of white women similarly employed. Twenty-five years ago it was only 38 percent as high as white women's wages. However, in the past few years—since 1960—the median earnings of these nonwhite women, still measured in dollars of constant purchasing power, has actually declined. This fact warrants our serious attention.

In all that I have said we find a mixed picture: Progress, but not nearly enough; in some respects, relative loss of ground; and in some instances, absolute retrogression.

There is much we can and are going to do to build on what is right, and to rectify what is wrong.

First, there is the purely voluntary approach. The attitudes of many employers, although on a diminishing scale, are still based on outworn myths about women's skills and habits of work. We must patiently but vigorously strive to dispel these myths.

Secondly, there is the legislative approach. Our entire history as a Nation and as a people reveals the role of justice under law in achieving economic and social gains.

Last year, at the Conference of Governors' Commissions on the Status of Women, which many of you attended, a wide range of legislative goals was reported. State action proves the word became the deed. State legislatures enacted 327 laws in 1964 and 1965 which greatly improved the civil and political status of women—and you played a large part in this.

You may remember that Conference participants last year indicated that the major legislative goal of the majority of the Commissions was the enactment or the improvement of minimum wage laws applicable to men as well as women. You have been both busy and effective.

The past 2 years have seen four States enact such legislation for the first time; three States lifted their minimum wage level and extended their minimum wage laws, which formerly applied just to women, to cover men as well. Eight raised the minimum wage level. But even today, only 34 States, the District of Columbia and Puerto Rico have minimum wage laws in effect. In many of these, the standards are far too low and, as we all know, most of the exceptions are entirely unjustifiable.

Many of you here today have participated, over the years, in helping to enact a large body of protective labor legislation for women. Many of you are concerned about the relationship of these protective laws to Title VII of the Federal Civil Rights Act which prohibits discrimination in employment on the basis of sex.

A large number of women's organizations, the State Commissioners of Labor, speaking through their International Association of Governmental Labor Officials, and many labor spokesmen, among others, have reaffirmed their active support of maintenance and effective enforcement of this protective labor legislation. They are urging the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to take the same position, which is entirely consistent with policies and procedures to eliminate actual discrimination based on sex. This position seems to me to be both sound and essential. You will recall that the President's Commission recommended that the States apply labor standards legislation, wherever feasible and appropriate, to men as well as women. Title VII gives special urgency to the implementation of this recommendation.

Perhaps you will remember that the Commission urged the extension of minimum wage laws to men as well as women. It also urged that, in place of laws limiting the maximum hours of work for women, we amend our minimum wage laws to provide to men and women alike overtime pay of at least time-and-a-half the regular rates for all hours in excess of 8 a day or 40 a week. This, of course, would serve to discourage excessive hours for all workers.

But the President's Commission strongly cautioned us that, as we move ahead to update these laws and make them applicable to men as well as women where appropriate and desirable, and, until we have good substitutes on the statute

books, we should be very careful to hold on to the statutes which now provide very essential protection to many millions of women.

A third approach to be emphasized is this: In a democracy, if women want to share fully in the benefits of legislation, they must share more adequately in the legislative process.

Women have enjoyed the right to vote for 45 years, but today only 2 percent of the Members of the U.S. House of Representatives and Senate are women. Only 12 hold these offices—7 fewer than in the 87th Congress. By contrast, six times as many women, relatively, sit in Sweden's Parliament.

We fare a little better with respect to State legislators. Nearly 5 percent of them are women. But only half of 1 percent of all our mayors are women.

Last, but not least, I think we women must look inward as well as outward. "The fault . . . is not in our stars." To what extent are women challenged to reexamine their own attitudes, to enlarge their aspirations, to seek more vigorously the training required for the effective exercise of responsibility?

An essential part of this task is to do more to help our young women see more realistically the diversity of roles they can play; to appreciate the ever-growing importance of high-level skills.

Are we doing enough to encourage women of all ages to equip themselves more adequately for the tasks of today and tomorrow?

Most important of all, are we bringing home to men, no less than to women, the special role of women in building the Great Society?

As our economy continues to increase its unrivaled productive powers, the question of to what human ends we harness this power will become more and more insistent. Will the poor be always with us? The slums? Those still unable to afford medical care? The ugly cities and highways? The polluted waters and atmosphere?

Women's talents and their profound human concerns are needed as never before, as we seek increasingly to make America, the rich and powerful, also the good and beautiful. Here we find our special task. And our work has just begun.



"On the Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women," Miss Hickey continued, "we have seven members of the President's Cabinet who are often represented at our meetings by gentlemen who bring an expertise and understanding to the problems we discuss. They developed this knowledge during their participation in the work of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. One of our early good friends, who helped us see the importance of social legislation and social action in support of it, is our next speaker.

"Ever since 1934, when he joined the Cabinet Committee on Economic Security, Wilbur Cohen has pioneered in the development of the social security program. He has been involved in its development ever since, both as a civil servant and as a private citizen. In one capacity or another he has worked with congressional committees every time the Social Security Act has been amended. Since 1961, when he became Assistant Secretary for Legislation of the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, he has been on leave from his duties as Professor of Public Welfare Administration at the School of Social Work of the University of Michigan. In June of this year, he became Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare."

Excerpts From the Remarks of Wilbur J. Cohen, Under Secretary of Health, Education, and Welfare

This is a very key date in my life. I have just come back from a meeting with the President and the American Medical Association. I was not sure that such a date would ever arrive, and I am certain the American Medical Association was very surprised, but I hope tomorrow the President will sign the Medicare bill into law.

This year then will go down in history as the year in which Congress enacted, after a legislative battle that lasted 90 years, a Federal law which gives aid to elementary and secondary education; and after 30 years of effort, a Medicare program. These two pieces of monumental legislation, which I know many of the people in this room fought for, both have come to fruition in 1965. It is a great year. I think we will see great results from these new laws, and I want to talk with you about them.

The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, as I see it, is really the department of home and family in the President's cabinet.

What we are concerned about in this Department is the quality of human life and the happiness of our people.

The problems that women and mothers and homemakers are concerned about, and that men should be more concerned about, include this question of improvement in the quality of our society. I don't think of the education act as a way of getting people more education so that they can make more money; I don't think of Medicare as a way of paying people's hospital bills—although those things are part of the total picture. More important, they are part of a struggle that has been going on for 50 years in this country to improve the quality and the dignity of human life, and to give people a sense of self-respect and belonging. These are dominant ideas that come to my mind when I think of these programs.

As I think of Medicare, for instance, I am always aware of how many women have had to stay unmarried or give up something of their own, in order to take care of their parents or to pay their parents' medical bills. How many people's lives have had to be changed—I don't want to say distorted—and how many people

have had to do things that they did not want to do because they wanted to carry out their filial obligations and take care of aged parents.

Please understand me. I think the kind of devotion that people have had to their parents and to their families is wonderful. But I think that with the Medicare bill passed, many a daughter and son will be freed from an unnecessary bondage.

And nothing has been more tragic to me than to watch people wrestle with the choice of paying either for their children's college educations or for their parents' medical bills. No one can really understand such a dilemma unless he has lived through it himself. The choice between responsibility to one's parents and responsibility to one's children is not easy to make.

Now, if I were to discuss Medicare from an economic point of view, I would point out that one of the great problems we are faced with is the increasing longevity of women. This makes the problem of the costs of medical care and social security a very great one.

There are more women than men in the group aged 65 and over. And among the people over ages 70 and 75, not only are there a larger number of women, but they are predominantly widows. Many of them, having outlived their husbands, also exhaust the financial resources their husbands provided, and ultimately become dependent upon public charity.

The overwhelming majority of the 2 million people who are over 65 and on public assistance today are widows. They are on public assistance because the incomes their husbands left them have been used up to pay medical bills. The Medicare program just enacted and improvements made in the social security program deal effectively with the major economic problems of widowhood, and with the economic problems medical care poses for the older population generally. These amendments should not only help older people but also enable middle-aged people in the middle income groups to raise their own families and send their children through school and college, without having to worry about the tremendous catastrophe and calamity that would befall them if their parents—or if they themselves—become sick in old age.

I want to say that several of the provisions in the social security law that were cited by the Commission on the Status of Women as inequitable, and dealing adversely with women are corrected by the new legislation. Not all of them by any means. There is still much left for you to do. But the following changes are of special benefit to women: The new law reduces from 62 to 60 the age at which widows may receive benefits. Benefits claimed before age 62 are somewhat reduced. Many widows in late middle age are left with insufficient funds, and they find reemployment difficult at this age. Thus, the reduction in the eligibility age to 60 is extremely important and valuable to widows.

Some of you may have heard about the so-called "living-in-sin" amendment. It was a subject of quite some amusement among the male legislators. The law provides that benefits will now be payable to widows who have remarried after age 60. I hope you won't ask me why it is not all right at age 59; but the male mind—as represented by our legislators—thinks that after age 60 it is perfectly all right for widows to remarry and still draw social security benefits.

The law also deals with a very, very difficult problem that took quite a good deal of time in Congress; it authorizes payment of a wife's or widow's benefit to the divorced wife of a retired, deceased, or disabled worker, if she was married to the worker for at least 20 years before the date of the divorce, and if the divorced husband was making a contribution to her support.

This problem had come up recurrently. Quite frequently, in divorce settlements, the settlement did not take account of the fact that the divorced wife would no longer get social security benefits either as the wife or the widow of a worker. The hardship that would then result has been corrected by the continuation of benefits in such cases.

Congress corrected one other thing that I thought was a serious inequity in the social security law. When a man dies, the social security system pays survivors' benefits in the form of monthly life insurance to his widow and dependent children. There has been a series of hardship cases in which the children of a deceased worker who was not married to their

mother were not eligible for benefits because State law did not recognize their entitlement. Prior law had required that social security benefits be paid only to children who could inherit under the State law. The amendments have changed this situation; benefits will be paid to a child based on the earnings record of his deceased father, if the father had acknowledged the child in writing, had been ordered by a court to contribute to the child's support, or other evidence shows that the worker was the father and contributing to the child's support. In these circumstances the child will receive social security benefits even though he cannot inherit under State law.

Although there are not many of these cases, it is grievous to see children deprived of their social security benefits. I won't have time to go into other provisions of the new law; any of you who are interested in them will be able to get the details on all of the very important changes in the Medicare and Social Security laws from your local social security office.

I would like to take a few minutes to talk with you about education. Nothing, it seems to me, is more important to improvement of the quality of American life than the historic legislation enacted by Congress this year—Federal aid for elementary and secondary education. This is just the beginning of a program of Federal aid to education.

For 95 years—the first bill on this subject was introduced in the American Congress in 1870—successive generations have fought and struggled to get little bits and pieces of legislation for one or another aspect of education. This year, Congress at last adopted a broad program for elementary and secondary education, which will cost about a billion and a half dollars of Federal funds. This action is historic because, in addition to all of the controversy revolving around the questions of what is the appropriate Federal role in education and what possible disastrous impact increased Federal participation might have upon local responsibility for education, we had the additional problems of racial segregation and discrimination, and the church-school issue.

I defy you to think of three more difficult problems to overcome. The passage of the

Civil Rights Act separated the issues that related to civil rights and discrimination. A method was found to resolve to some extent the dispute over church and state. This method recognized that Federal funds were urgently needed to aid the education of poor children no matter where they are, no matter what their race, religion, or color. Furthermore, the recognition that the program is going to cost money and is important represents a signal victory in one of the most important programs in our history and for the future of this country. I wish you, yourselves, could have heard the President of the United States on this. I just cannot be equally persuasive.

Just this morning he said to me, "I want you to see, with Mr. Gardner, that America has the most outstanding system of education. In this country, I want every boy and girl—of every race, of every creed, of every color—to be able, in our society, to get all the education that he or she has the ability to get."

I am so positive that the President of the United States means that, and I am so positive that he is going to do everything he can to assure that every child gets such an opportunity that I believe this new law will have, in the next few years, a very important bearing on the whole quality of our society.

Now, quite frankly, this program is going to take a lot of money. I think we cannot go into this problem of Federal aid to education without talking about billions of dollars.

The teachers of this country are underpaid. Our school facilities are in many cases outmoded. There are countless children who ought to continue to go to school, but who do not go to school. There are dropouts.

I was shocked when I first came into this program and found that thousands upon thousands of elementary and secondary schools do not have libraries, do not even have books. This law makes a small start toward providing books. Only \$150 million are appropriated under Title II of the act. That may seem like a lot of money to you, but for 50 million students in the United States it doesn't go very far. This program is going to be expanded until every child in the United States has all the schoolbooks he or she

needs to be the best student our society can produce.

The new legislation is going to produce a revolution in our elementary and secondary school systems. The billion—roughly a billion—dollars allowed in Title I of the law to help children who live in families with incomes under \$2,000 is a great step forward. While a billion dollars seems like a lot of money, I think that if we were spending \$5 billion or \$10 billion in the next year or two, that still would not be enough.

I say this to you particularly because I think education will be one of your major responsibilities during the next 5 years. You now have a law that has at last, after 95 years, broken through all of these nearly 100-year-old ideological disputes.

Title I has only a 1-year duration, and we will have to go back to Congress next year for an extension. I am sure there will be another big fight next year. There will be people who want to expand the program. There will also be those who don't want to spend any more money. And there will be those fearful of the Federal Government's role—fearful that the Federal Government might want to write the textbooks. All of those things will be discussed and debated, as they should be in our democratic society. In the world we live in, it is important that every child—regardless of race, creed, or color—get all of the education that we can provide and it is important that we offer to every child all that he can take.

The money available under Title I can be used in the communities for preschool classes and preschool work. It is important for all children to start the learning process without the handicaps that result from poverty, cultural deprivation, or discrimination.

I hope that all of you will place Federal aid for educational improvement very high on your priority list. I can't think of anything more important to boys and girls growing up, to the sanctity of the family, to the promotion of culture, to the improvement in the quality of living, than the things that are involved in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965.

There are a host of other pieces of legislation that I would like to talk about that I think

you would be interested in.

For example, last year an important program for nurse education was authorized. There is a tremendous shortage of nurses, of teachers, and social workers. These three areas are crucial to improvement of the quality of American life. To achieve such improvement, we need more nurses, we need more teachers, and we need more social workers. And yet, those three areas have been largely neglected by legislation dealing with the manpower resources of our country. Your States and your local groups should develop an interest in these manpower concerns.

Looking forward to the next 30 years, I see that as a Nation we must invest more and more in health, education, and welfare. I think America cannot continue to be great—in an international sense, an economic sense, or a qualitative sense—unless, when you go back home, you understand and explain to others the importance of allocating more resources to these crucial areas, and unless you are willing to fight for this investment in our future.

When I first started my career, as a graduate of the University of Wisconsin, if anyone had asked me, "What are the three basic elements in the standard of living?" I could very easily have said, "Food, clothing, and shelter." But today, I think there are no longer only three elements in the standard of living. I think there are two more—the right to education and the right to good health. We cannot have a good standard of living and we cannot have a great country unless we are willing—in our local communities, at the State legislative level, and at the Federal level—to fight for adequate funds, good facilities, and adequate training of personnel in the fields of health, education, and welfare.

I hope you feel, as I do, that 1965 is a great year to be alive. We have surmounted two of the greatest controversies that have ever affected the course of social legislation. Women, along with men, have been pioneers in achieving improvements of social change. They have been the sponsors and workers over many years. I look forward to our continuing to work together to build a greater America, and a greater society than we have today. I know all of you will help in that effort.



Mr. Richard Graham, Mrs. W. Willard Wirtz, and Mrs. Mary Dublin Keyserling



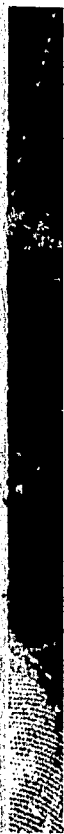
Mrs. Mary N. Hilton, Miss Mary Eastwood, and Dr. Margaret Browne

Mrs. Aileen Hernandez and Mrs. Anna Roosevelt Halsted



Guests at the head table at luncheon
Committee and Council: (left
Dr. Caroline Ware, and Mrs. Mar





Miss Margaret Mealey, Mrs. Mabel Keaton Staupers,
and Mr. Norman Nicholson

on Friday included members or alternate members of the
(right), Miss Eugenia Sullivan, Mr. David R. Baldwin,
E. Callahan.



Miss Marguerite Rawalt and Miss Ann Draper



Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., and Miss Margaret Hickey

FRIDAY SESSION—INFORMATION EXCHANGE AND SUMMATION

Friday was Information Exchange Day, as Conference participants divided into 11 workshop groups in the morning and 6 in the afternoon.

The topic for discussion at lunch had been unanimously requested. All participants wanted to know more about Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The two speakers were those best qualified to discuss it—Mrs. Aileen C. Hernandez, the only woman member of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, and Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., the Chairman of the Commission.

Mrs. Hernandez, appointed to her post after serving with the Division of Fair Employment Practices in California, has had extensive experience with the labor movement and educational institutions. Miss Margaret Hickey said, in introducing her, "Her qualifications are superb for the task she is taking on."

Address of Mrs. Aileen C. Hernandez, Member, Equal Employment Opportunity Commission

I want to tell you how pleased I am to be here in this very distinguished company.

I find it very interesting to be on this particular Commission. I like the odds—four to one is a nice balance, I think, especially when you have four very charming gentlemen to deal with as I do.

Mr. Roosevelt has already indicated that he has one particular job that he is going to do and that is to get me to stop wearing hats. I told him that would not be possible, but I hope we can come to agreement on some of the other issues that we are going to deal with.

I feel a particular pleasure to be able to work with the groups here because I recognize that in

coming together in your various Commissions you have begun to wrestle with problems that many of us have not been able to go into too carefully in the past.

We are recognizing that the old theories about a woman's place are changing every day, and I think the particular function that you have to serve is to help us bring into the 20th century the thinking about what a woman's role is.

I am concerned, for example, about some of the ideas and concepts that I still hear from people. I wonder if some of you are familiar with a book that came out several years ago called *The Revolt of American Women*.¹ I would like to quote something from that book that may be of interest.

¹ Oliver Jensen, *The Revolt of American Women*, New York, Harcourt, Brace, and Co., 1952.

... No one inquires whether men can successfully combine marriage and careers; no one denounces the cut of their bathing suits or worries very much about their morality; no leagues of men voters have been formed; no equivalent of Philip Wylie, the enemy of "Mom," has arisen to pepper Pop with maledictions as a menace to the national well-being. But women are constantly in the news in their specific role as women. Our society demands of them a thousand new skills in factory, laboratory and office; and it insists at the same time that they remain proficient at all the old ones in bedroom, nursery and kitchen. Their successes or failures in this new double life, partly in a man's world, partly in a woman's, alternately please, baffle and enrage the other sex.

I think that quotation is rather significant because it poses the kinds of problems we are dealing with. I can recall any number of occasions when we have talked about what kinds of jobs women should hold or what kinds of legislation should be passed. Sometimes the legislation was meant to "protect," but sometimes we were not quite sure whether what we got was protection or not.

So I think we are going to have to deal with these questions in our Commission.

I was somewhat angered this morning to hear about an article in a magazine which questions whether we should limit the number of women who attend college because of the drain on those facilities. The article seriously suggested—I assume it was serious—that we ought only to permit men to enter college now so that all men who wish to go to college will be able to do so.

I wonder what would happen to the children of America if women were not able to get the education they need and deserve.

I am concerned about what we think the woman's role is even if she chooses to be a homemaker. Does she not need the skills and the knowledge that she receives in school, in order to pass on to her children the ideas and theories

about society that we think are so valuable nowadays?

I am very much aware that we are going through a new phase. I am totally aware that we are going to have to make some changes in our concept of life. I am convinced that you who have started on this job have also changed your own thinking as you have met and talked with other people.

I am convinced that we can bring an in-depth approach to the whole question of the role of women in American society and that we can make some significant changes.

Men are very worried about Title VII as it applies to sex. Business is concerned about it. I think there is more fear and trepidation about what is going to happen with that "sex amendment" than there is about anything else.

And actually I have a unique way of looking at it. I feel that rather than doing something which will ruin things for women, Title VII may very well be the emancipation act for men.

I find it difficult to see why it is not possible to include men in some protections that are extended to women.

Why not a rest period for men—don't they get tired, too? Why not a weight restriction on the things they have to lift—have you looked at some of the figures on the incidence of hernia in men?

I am concerned about some other things. Maybe there is a male "Bunny" who would like to be in a Playgirl Club. If we girls get to go to one of those clubs we might like to see a man.

I know there is a lot of levity on the subject but it is not a funny subject. It has very serious potential. And I am convinced, having met and gotten to know the four other members of our Commission, that they also view it with great seriousness.

We do see Title VII as potentially helpful. We did not know that a ban on sex discrimination was going to be included in the act but, now that it is included, we intend to enforce it and to administer it with imagination. Let us hope that by doing the things we will do under Title VII we will help bring about the new kind of emancipation I mentioned, not just for women—but for men as well.



In introducing Mr. Roosevelt, Miss Hickey reminded listeners of their debt to his mother, Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt—the first and only Chairman of the President's Commission on the Status of Women. She also expressed her pleasure that Mrs. Anna Roosevelt Halsted is a member of the Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of Women. Brother and sister rose to acknowledge the Conference's applause, and Chairman Roosevelt spoke.

Address of Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., Chairman, Equal Employment Oppor- tunity Commission

Sometimes, at the end of a long day, I think that perhaps my sister should have been appointed in place of me on this Commission, but I can assure you that I pay a great deal of attention to her very valuable advice.

I was asked on television yesterday morning whether Judge Smith's amendment dealing with discrimination due to sex had not put a lot of women in my hair and I said, "No, not in my hair, but it certainly has put a lot of women's problems squarely in my lap."

I am also very pleased that the President saw fit to appoint Aileen Hernandez to our Commission. I think you can judge from her very lucid remarks that you are well represented on the Commission. And I can assure you that even though we are four to one, that is only the bare bone fact—the end result is usually directly the reverse.

I welcome this opportunity to talk with you today about matters concerning the employment

of women. These are matters with which you have been seriously concerned for some time. They are matters which the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission—a Federal agency—is tackling for the first time.

We recognize that the provisions of Title VII dealing with discrimination on the basis of sex are complex and controversial. They were included in the Civil Rights Act without committee hearings and with little in the way of meaningful debate.

If you have sensed a tendency on the part of some businessmen, government officials, and others to regard these provisions as either frightening or humorous, let me assure you that I do not consider them in this light.

I want to make it clear that the EEOC and its staff recognize that discrimination in employment based on sex is a serious problem of national concern. We believe that the provisions of Title VII can be extremely helpful in correcting many longstanding abuses against women employees. The EEOC is prepared to provide wise and strong administration.

We also recognize that we are starting out with very few guidelines. The Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor is undertaking to provide us with extensive background information on the extent of job discrimination against women. And I should express here the gratitude of myself and of my fellow Commissioners for the wonderful cooperation we have had, both from Esther Peterson and from Mrs. Keyserling.

We are also seeking the advice and counsel of the many organizations that have been concerned with these matters, and we welcome in particular the wisdom of your experience.

I should like you to know that I have given Aileen Hernandez primary responsibility for maintaining liaison between the Commission and State agencies. She will work not only with State agencies dealing with civil rights matters but also with State Commissions such as yours. I have asked Richard Graham to act as my representative on the Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of Women.

I would like to discuss with you three specific questions in the area of unlawful employment practices where discrimination is based upon sex. There are three things the EEOC will have to do:

First, decide for itself the appropriate scope to be given sex as a bona fide occupational qualification.

Second, resolve the riddle of the Bennett Amendment dealing with the relationship of Title VII to the Equal Pay Act.

Third, find the right balance between the provisions in Title VII that prohibit discrimination on the basis of sex and the provisions of various State laws that provide special treatment for women who are employed.

On the question of bona fide occupational qualifications, I believe that the Commission should follow the usual procedure in construing exemptions to protective provisions—it should construe such provisions narrowly. The Commission should carefully examine suggestions that sex is a bona fide occupational qualification. It should be alert to distinguish between those situations in which it is merely a convenient extension of tradition and those in which

sex appears to be more strongly linked to the requirements of the job or to other basic values.

On the second question—the Bennett Amendment—the answers are far from easy. When Title VII was under discussion in the Senate, Senator Bennett introduced a one-sentence amendment which refers to the Federal Equal Pay Act.

Its purpose, according to the Senator when he introduced it, was to provide, in the event of conflicts, that the “. . . provisions of the Equal Pay Act shall not be nullified.” The amendment states, however, that differentials on the basis of sex are permitted under Title VII if “authorized” under the Federal Equal Pay Act.

Perplexing questions are raised as to the intent of the amendment since the Equal Pay Act does not “authorize” pay differentials. It merely lists exceptions to the prohibition against discrimination where the factors determinative of the wage rate difference are not that of sex. Differentials are not prohibited, for example, when based upon seniority systems or a piece-work scale.

A year later, Senator Bennett stated a somewhat different explanation of the intent of his original amendment: “Simply stated, the amendment means that discrimination in compensation on account of sex does not violate Title VII unless it also violates the Equal Pay Act.”

We must seek diligently to reconcile the differences in interpretation before we can establish the EEOC's position on this section of the law.

EEOC is giving very serious consideration to this question and hopes in the near future to announce a position consistent with the congressional intent of section 703(h) and Title VII as a whole.

Senator Clark has placed in the Congressional Record a letter which I have received from Ann Draper, Chairman of the National Committee for Equal Pay, which takes direct issue with Senator Bennett's statement.

On the third question—Title VII and State laws—there are at least three types of State laws that need to be considered. First, State laws that prohibit employment of women in

certain occupations, such as coal mining. Second, State laws that prohibit women from working beyond a certain number of hours or from performing certain tasks, such as lifting more than 35 pounds. Third, State laws that require that women employees be provided with special rest facilities or be compensated at minimum rates.

A reasonable application of Title VII will need to be made in some cases to permit employers to comply with both Title VII and such State laws. The Commission recognizes that these laws were and are in most cases designed to protect women in their employment opportunities, and it will move with great care in taking any action that might affect their scope. We do not see any clear congressional intent to overturn all of these laws.

I understand that both the President's Commission on the Status of Women and your groups have been reevaluating present State legislation in this area and are pressing for changes to make the State laws more up to date and more flexible. We think this is a most worthwhile effort. Your work in this area can do much to clear up possible inconsistencies between outmoded laws and the purpose of Title VII. The Commission, I know, will be happy to work with you in any way possible.

Finally, I would like to mention the specific issue of employment discrimination based upon sex as it relates to the classified advertising pages. Is it a violation of the provisions relating to sex in Title VII to advertise in the classified columns for: "Help Wanted—Men" and "Help Wanted—Women?" If it is determined that such advertising constitutes discrimination

on the basis of sex, should an employer or employment agency advertise in the neuter columns? Or should an ad be placed in both columns? The newspaper publishers would like that.

The staff and the Commissioners have agreed that advice and counsel on this question will be sought in our efforts to establish sound guidelines which would guarantee accurate interpretation as well as avoid punitive requirements for employers and agencies.

I take this occasion today, therefore, to announce that I will appoint an ad hoc committee of experts to advise the EEOC on these questions. Representatives of the press, advertising, employment agencies, the Labor Department, and women's organizations will be named to serve on this ad hoc advisory committee.

In these areas which are of particular interest to all of you at this conference—as in all the areas of responsibility with which the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission is charged—the road to progress must be lighted by reason.

We must make every effort to find the answers to these issues by reconciliation of differences, by honest approaches between employers and employees.

There will be hard rocks and maybe some deep washouts along this road we will travel, but we promise you we will steer carefully and avoid as many as we can. When we cannot, I have no doubt that the bumps will jar, but I am not worried about breaking the axle.

You can do much to help us. I ask you to return to your communities and give your fellow citizens this message. We seek their cooperation and we welcome their support.



THE GIST OF THE WORKSHOPS

These summaries of workshop discussions are based on the notes of workshop reporters, of which each group had two. The 12 groups that met in the morning (2 of these discussed education and their reports have been combined) had less than 3 hours in which to cover their fields of interest. The six which met in the afternoon were allowed only 1 hour for discussion. It was the decision of all concerned that each group could profitably have used a great deal more discussion time, so informative were participants and so valuable their contributions. Discussions did not begin to exhaust the topics, and the following summaries include highlights rather than complete reports of what was heard.

Lest readers hastily skip to the workshop report whose title indicates a subject of primary interest, it should be pointed out that workshop discussion was broad-based. Groups whose assigned topics seemingly were unrelated overlapped in their interests and contributions. Almost every workshop had some item of interest for participants whose first concern was elsewhere.

The summary of each workshop's discussion is preceded by the names of its chairman, resource specialists or panelists, and reporters. These people will assist readers who want more information. The resource specialists and panelists attached to Federal agencies have Government publications, fact sheets, and general information which may be of value. Resource specialists and panelists from State Commissions have expertise on problems all Commissions face sooner or later. The summaries do not include names of the States whose experiences are noted, because that information was not always available. Those who want to

know which State ran a particular survey on a specific subject should write to Miss Marguerite Gilmore, Chief, Field Division, Women's Bureau, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. 20210.

The photographs interspersed in the text were taken during the workshop sessions and while reporters were delivering their summaries. The States represented by the workshop chairmen, resource specialists, and reporters are abbreviated, following each name. In some cases, initials appear, representing Federal agencies. A list of the agencies and their addresses appears on pages 79 and 80.

MORNING SESSION—Workshops 1-11

Workshop 1—Legal Status of Women

Chairman: Virginia Morrissey (Mass.)

Resource Specialists:

Eulah L. Cato (La.)
Regina F. Cohane (Mich.)
Lorene Harrington (Iowa)
Marguerite Rawalt (CACSW)
Laura Lee Spencer (WB)
Josephine Urani (WB)
Tempa M. Watson (Hawaii)
Kermitt E. Wheeler (WB)

Reporters:

Mary Eastwood (Justice)
June Honaman (Pa.)

Jury Service. In one State which excludes women from juries, the House of Representatives has passed a bill to permit women to serve; the Senate will consider it during the next session. There has been a great deal of activity in another State to change the law that requires women to register before they can be put on the jury list, even though the constitutionality of the procedure which requires women but not men to register was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in *Hoyt v. Florida*. A number of States still permit women to be excused from jury duty simply because of their sex. Permissive jury service cannot be considered an advantage for women, since it is never an advantage for a woman not to be considered a full citizen.

Unequal jury service may result from jury selection procedures. A Commission that surveyed jury selection in 40 counties of 1 State found that in 1 county, of a total of 800 names drawn from the jury box, only 8 were women

and 2 of these had served before. Attorneys may be more inclined to challenge women jurors, thus cutting down the percentage of women who actually serve on juries. On the other hand, an instance was given in which many more women served than men, because men were more likely to ask to be excused.

Property Rights as Between Husband and Wife. One State wants to know if any State is studying the relative merits of the two basic matrimonial property systems in the United States—common law and community property.

Discrimination in Public Employment. In one State the law provides for a double civil service list—one for men and another for women. A single list exists for promotions and the Commission in that State is working to eradicate the discriminatory aspect in hiring.

Techniques for Collecting Information. One Commission's Committee on Legal Rights has sent questionnaires to over 500 members of the State Bar and plans to hold a public hearing. Another Commission's Committee on Legal Rights and Political Participation is making a survey, by personal interview, of women in public life. Another State Commission sent a questionnaire to county sheriffs concerning conditions for women prisoners.

Continuity of State Commissions. The work of State Commissions has been interrupted frequently by a change of administration. The work of a Commission may be more stable if its existence is guaranteed by statute. However, a Commission created by Executive order may allow for more flexibility and the involvement of more people on committees or as consultants.

Workshop 2—Title VII

Chairman: Raymond F. Male (N.J.)

Resource Specialists:

Florence G. Clifton (Calif.)

Carol Cox (SOL)

Katherine P. Ellickson (PCEEO)

Mary Dublin Keyserling (WB)

Reporters:

Carl Cabe (Ky.)

Alice A. Morrison (WB)

The workshop was concerned with the impact of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 on existing State laws. Title VII includes the word "sex" along with race, color, religion, and national origin in the clause forbidding discrimination in hiring, training, and promotion. Although Title VII has great potential for improving the status of women, several problems have arisen in connection with its interpretation and enforcement, for which workable solutions must be found.

Three aspects of the new law are particularly in need of clarification by the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission: Bona fide occupational qualifications, the Bennett Amendment, and the relation of Title VII to State labor laws for women. This workshop concentrated on the third topic.

The basic question in regard to Title VII's effect on State labor laws applying differently to men and women is this: Will Title VII have the effect of setting aside such State laws, of extending women's laws to men, or of maintaining the status quo? The only workers affected will be those covered by both State labor laws and the Federal law. Since Title VII is part of the Federal law it covers only workers in establishments affecting interstate commerce.

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission has several courses open to it in this connection. It could review the legislative history of Title VII and conclude it was not the intent of Congress that Title VII generally supersede or set aside State laws affecting the employment of women differently from that of men. This would not preclude its investigation of complaints that State laws were being used as an unwarranted excuse for discriminatory practices. The other course might be for it to review all complaints involving State labor laws on an

individual case-by-case basis without developing general guidelines.

There was general agreement that State Commissions should work actively for the extension of broad and effective minimum wage coverage to men and women. Excessive hours can be effectively deterred by requiring premium pay for overtime of at least time-and-a-half the regular rate for men and women. Enactment and improvement of minimum wage laws thus would provide a desirable substitute for maximum hours laws which apply to women only.

The danger of losing existing protection, especially helpful to the many women employed in relatively low-paid, unorganized industries was pointed out. Some participants felt that hours laws that apply only to women interfere with employment opportunities.

In regard to the application of Title VII to some specific situations, these ideas emerged. The owner of an "all women" insurance agency asked whether she could continue to employ only women. It was thought that the issue would be raised only if a man asked for a job and brought a complaint, although another participant was of the belief that such an agency could no longer exist. Although the law does not require changing the present setup, but applies only to future hirings, the opinion was also expressed that employers should not wait for a complaint before complying with the law. A question about whether Title VII would require hospitals to admit men to nurses' training programs brought the reply that nurses in training are not considered "employees" but students. Title VI, rather than Title VII, applies to institutions receiving Federal aid (including hospitals), but discrimination because of sex is not included in the list of prohibited discriminations.

Questions were raised also about the effect of Title VII on union contracts, particularly those which distinguish between "men's jobs" and "women's jobs" and those which establish separate seniority for men and women. Among questions raised but not discussed were several on the equal access of women to employee training programs and the use of aptitude scores.

It would be of great value for State Commissions to keep the Equal Employment Opportu-



nity Commission informed about developments in the States in regard to Title VII.

Workshop 3—Employment Opportunities

Chairman: C. Hunter Green (Ky.)

Resource Specialists:

Ann Donovan (OE)

Paul Gayer (Ill.)

Helen Nicol (WB)

Mary Resh (OMAT)

Martina J. Rich (Ind.)

Betty Talkington (Iowa)

Betty Walker (CSC)

Jean A. Wells (WB)

Reporters:

Sue F. Crank (Ga.)

Janice N. Hedges (WB)

Some problems relating to women's employment stem from the fact that the present period is one of transition, in which the new roles of men and women are not yet clearly defined. Women who encounter major handicaps in the work force are older women, those seeking part-time jobs, those seeking training in nontraditional occupations, and members of minority groups.

The Older Workers. Although there was disagreement about whether women are discriminated against more often than men because of age, there was some feeling that age discrimination begins about 10 years earlier for women and that women are more often requested to retire early. Attention focused on the part pension plans and other fringe benefits play in limiting job opportunities for older workers. Some employers prefer the costs of high turnover of young workers to the higher costs of fringe benefits for older workers. Twenty States have statutes prohibiting job discrimination because of age.

Age affects the employed and the unemployed in different ways. Among the employed, age represents maturity and experience. For the unemployed, it is a handicap. *Questions:* Might it be feasible to allow older workers to waive their rights to fringe benefits? Is it possible that some action that seems to discriminate against women is really a reflection of women's unwillingness to work full time, all year round, or to take additional training?

Part-Time Work. Although many women with home responsibilities prefer part-time work, some part-time jobs create problems. More part-time jobs may mean fewer full-time jobs. Women who are not interested in fringe benefits when they take a part-time job often develop an interest in them later. There are few standards for part-time jobs; perhaps a 4-hour-a-day minimum should be recognized for part-time work.

In one State, a business firm has established a flexible part-time work schedule for its central secretarial pool. For mothers employed in the pool, working hours are geared to school hours, holidays, and vacations.

Training. It is imperative to open training opportunities to women in a wide range of occupations. But many school administrators are men and are insensitive to the vocational needs of women. One area vocational school cited offers training in about 20 occupations for men and 4 or 5 for women. Theoretically girls may enter any courses offered, but instruction is male-oriented. Courses for such jobs as dental assistant and food service supervisor are too rare.

Women often fail to take advantage of training opportunities for promotion. One firm pro-

vides scholarships for after-hours college-credit courses. But, it was reported, men take advantage of the offer and women don't. *Question:* Do women lack motivation, or do their home responsibilities get in the way?

It is difficult to recruit women for training in service industries. Training for household workers hasn't been stressed in this country. Providing incentive helps. In one State, women trained to care for the aged and sick in one homemaker services program receive pins and certificates on graduation.

Working women also need nontraditional courses in time budgeting and homemaking shortcuts to help them combine employment or training activities with home responsibilities.

Mature women who want to enter or reenter the labor force have special needs. They need encouragement, and often financial assistance, because they tend to give priority to their children's educational needs and expenses rather than their own.

Employers' Preferences for Hiring Negro Women Over Negro Men. The sociological problems faced by Negro families is aggravated by some employers' preference for hiring Negro women rather than Negro men. Recent legislation may help alleviate this difficulty.

Attitudes. Girls should be educated to the reality of three roles—wife and mother, paid worker, and community leader. Facts about women's worklife can help facilitate the educational process. A State Commission studied the attitudes of women in the labor force. Some 72 percent of the working women interviewed agreed that women want careers in industry or government; almost 84 percent agreed that women between 35 and 55 years are interested in working.

Participants disagreed about whether women as a group are less inclined to accept job responsibility than men are. Some felt that attitudes toward responsibility were highly individual matters not related to sex. Others thought that the tendency of some women to decline job responsibility is rooted in traditional social attitudes that make women feel guilty about working. The attitudes of fathers, husbands, and boy friends are important in changing women's attitudes toward paid work outside the home.

Workshop 4—Education

SECTION A

Chairman: Sister Mary Ann Ida (Ill.)

Resource Specialists:

Cecilia Dempster (OE)
Eleanor Dolan (AAUW)
Alice Scates (OE)
Barbara Spears (S. Dak.)
Isabelle S. Streidl (WB)
Hester Turner (Oreg.)

Reporters:

Agnes M. Douty (Commerce)
F. Ivan Nye (Wash.)

SECTION B

Chairman: Elvira Jestrab (N. Dak.)

Resource Specialists:

David S. Bushnell (OE)
Opal David (Va.)
Marian G. Gallagher (Wash.)
Kathryn Heath (OE)
Vera M. Schletzer (Minn.)
Rebecca Tarshis (Oreg.)
Muriel Wool (WB)

Reporters:

Marna V. Brady (Fla.)
Mary Cannon (WB)

Because of the number of participants interested in the workshop on education, it was divided into sections A and B. The two reports appear together here. Workshop A concentrated mainly on college-level, continuing education for mature women and vocational education for the noncollege-oriented. Workshop B ranged from dropout prevention to continuing education at the adult level.

Continuing Education—College Level. Specific examples of programs at the college level offered for mature women included these: Some States provide guidance for women before they enter continuing education programs. A populous State offers 500 scholarships for mature women on a part-time or full-time basis. In another State the American Association of University Women (AAUW) is active in establishing programs. The city section of a State university is developing a community counseling service. One industrial city soon will have five community colleges.

One State university has obtained a Carnegie grant to set up counseling programs for women of all ages who want to continue their education at any level, either full or part time. Students may enter the university without a high school degree if tests show they are qualified; university administration is flexible. Another State university has a "footwetting" program which starts women off with noncredit courses. It is designed to develop women's confidence in their ability to study and compete.

Women often fail to make use of loans available because they don't know they are available.



Traditional patterns are difficult to break. For example, many nurses want to work toward master's degrees but are not encouraged to do so, although funds are available through the Nurse Training Act of 1964.

Vocational Education. The lag in trade school curriculums is dangerous in this age of technology. One State has increased the number of trade schools from 6 to 20, but they are male-oriented. Two other States have a few good vocational schools in which all ages and both sexes, as well as the handicapped, are welcome. High tuition is a drawback, however.

Counseling and Development of Attitudes. Steps should be taken to enable boys and girls to become aware at an early age of the responsibilities of parenthood, the need for excellence in family life, and the contribution of both boys and girls toward this goal.

Continuing Education Below the College Level. In some areas, educational opportunities are being made available to married or pregnant girls who are barred from high schools. Correspondence courses, equivalence examinations, tutoring, and community colleges are filling the need. One State, in an experiment, required welfare recipients to take literacy education and paid them an extra \$6 a month. One city has "skill centers" to teach people to read and write. Volunteer workers are important in this area.

Dropouts. One State finds "lost" dropouts through welfare agencies and door-to-door canvasses, and informs them of educational opportunities. The number of dropouts can be reduced, another State study shows, when money for trained guidance counselors and for a flexible curriculum are provided. Another study shows that interest in continuing education is correlated with the number of years spent in school before dropping out.

General Recommendations. Women should attempt to become members of boards of regents. They should decide what is needed, bring problems to the attention of universities and regional associations, and try experimental approaches. Commission members should get on committees studying vocational school curriculums and should support area vocational centers.

Workshop 5—Vocational Guidance

Chairman: Eunice C. Roberts (Ind.)

Resource Specialists:

Ralph Bedell (OE)

Katherine Dreves (Minn.)

Sister Marie Augusta Neal (Mass.)

Sally Ponikarski (Ga.)

Dr. James W. Shieburne (Oreg.)

Rose Terlin (WB)

Reporters:

Nancy K. Knaak (Wis.)

Stella P. Manor (SECY)

Community Counseling Centers. Shortages of counselors, the failure of school districts to provide a ratio of 1 counselor to 300 students, and the need to expand the counseling services so that they reach both the young in elementary school and the mature who are out of school led the group to discuss the value of "community counseling centers."

Several advantages are cited for community counseling centers. Such centers may reach the dropout who feels no rapport with a school staff member. Also, whereas a school counselor may tend to concentrate on educational needs without having time to consider the more complex origin of a dropout's problems, counseling which involves members of a dropout's family may uncover and solve some problems which bear on the student's dropping out of school. One State has experimented with this broadened approach, starting with the schoolchild and then involving his family.

Financial assistance for community counseling centers may be available through the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, which provides financial support for "supplementary educational centers" and particularly refers to guidance and counseling services. The success of a community center demands involvement within the community and mutuality of interest among the groups involved so that they work cooperatively. Centering attention on someone else's problems through specific projects was suggested as a way of reducing friction.

Special Counseling Needs of Girls and Women. New Approaches to Counseling Girls in the 1960's was the theme of a conference held in Chicago in February 1965, financed by the Office of Manpower, Automation and Training.¹ State Commissions should sponsor similar regional and State meetings as a technique for exchange of ideas and development of cooperation among groups concerned with the various aspects of counseling. These would include employment service counselors, school counselors, counselor trainers in universities, directors or administrators of guidance departments in State education departments, local school systems, and other organizations. The Women's Bureau will issue a report of the Chicago Conference in early fall.

The usual comment was made that girls and women are ill informed about their future roles and set their expectations at lower levels than they should. The use of mass media to present realistic role models to young girls was advocated. The attitudes of girls' contemporaries—both male and female—also must be influenced, since the expectations and goals of young women are strongly influenced by the attitudes young men have about their wives.

One university has found it useful to show its younger students what is being done by women and to bring together undergraduates and mature women who have returned to continue their education, such as the Lifeline program for undergraduates and the New Horizons program for mature women. Another university has developed several series of half-hour panel discussions for TV. Each series covers a different topic. Panelists include husbands of working wives, husbands of wives who don't work, the wives themselves, and others.

Special Vocational Counseling Needs of Mature Women. Workshops were recommended as a good device for imparting information about local employment opportunities, techniques of making job applications, grooming, and use of community resources and services to mature women who want to reenter the labor force. Retirement practices in industry create special problems for older workers who are reentering

¹ The Conference Report, *New Approaches to Counseling Girls in the 1960's*, may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents, Washington, D.C. 20402, at 30 cents a copy.

the labor force. (The Secretary of Labor's recent report to Congress titled *The Older American Workers—Age Discrimination in Employment* would be valuable reading on this subject.) One State has made a statewide survey of industry's retirement practices and attitudes toward hiring mature women.

Counselor Training. The concept of counseling must be broadened to include more than educational or vocational counseling. Supervised counselor-training practice should take place early in the training program and should include clients of diverse cultural backgrounds. To help lighten the heavy load on counselors, "aides" should be trained and used. Project CAUSE (Counselor-Advisor University Summer Education) provides subprofessionally trained aides who can be used under supervision. Mature volunteers also may be used. The National Federation of Business and Professional Women (BPW), Altrusa, and other women's service organizations are likely contributors to this effort.

A broad concept of counseling requires that counselors understand the complex forces which play upon women. It was generally agreed that a woman's request for counseling may really be an indication of her drive for self-exploration, and her resulting course of action should involve much more than a search for employment. Help with personal problems is frequently involved and other aspects of life besides the vocational should not be slighted. For example, a woman could be helped to participate more effectively in public affairs or, through political education, trained to participate in public hearings on issues vital to her interests. Counseling could be reinforced by courses and experiences in community action. The vacuum in education on matters of public policy should be filled. The American Association of University Women and the League of Women Voters were cited as organizations which might be approached for help in this area. The group generally agreed that a woman's function in society is one that can be expressed in many ways other than through a job, and one that changes as circumstances and the woman herself change. Counseling, therefore, needs to focus on a functional approach.

Workshop 6—Home and Community

Chairman: Margaret K. Yoder (Iowa)

Resource Specialists:

Evelyn W. Farber (WB)

Mary N. Hilton (WB)

Gladys Lawson (HEW)

Frances Minda (Minn.)

Wilma Miyasato (Hawaii)

Marion Neprud (PHA)

Jean Reynolds (CB)

Reporter: Beatrice Rosenberg (WB)

Day Care. Each State must study its own situation to arrive at a realistic day care program.

Federal funds are available under several programs for day care centers. The State welfare department is, in general, a very good source for guidance. In addition, other local and State agencies can be helpful, and the Children's Bureau, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, in Washington, has valuable publications. Although the need for day care centers is stressed for low-income groups, such centers are, in reality, important for all income groups.

State Commissions should act to raise standards of day care centers for all children. By way of progress, one State reported that church groups, with State and Federal financial support, have organized day care centers for the indigent; the fee is small.

Other Projects. Another Commission is studying the urbanization of Indians. Still another is conducting a telephone survey to study the effect of women's dual role as homemaker and community worker on women themselves, on their families, and on community life. Each household studied is being asked about the age of each family member, ancestry, employment status of adults, whether those employed work full or part time, school attendance, care of preschool children, afterschool care of children. Also questions are asked to reveal attitudes about women working outside their homes.

Homemaker Service. A *Directory of Homemaker Services*. *Homemaker Services in the United States*, revised 1964, and *Homemaker Services, History and Bibliography, 1964*, are excellent resource materials and are available

from the Department of Health, Education, and Welfare.

A homemaker program, initiated 3 years ago in one city, was suspended because of lack of patronage. Officials believe that clients were reluctant to participate because they confused it with a similar program which had been attempted by a teenage group.

Private-Household Workers. There is great interest in efforts to raise standards of work and to set standards of performance for private-household workers. One State developed a working code and several are offering programs for women in this occupational area. The workshop did not have time to discuss the subject, but a list of study materials was suggested:

Social Security and Your Household Employee—OASI-21; and Answers to a Woman's Questions about Social Security—OASI-27. Available from U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., 20201.

Circular H—Household Employer's Social Security Tax Guide. Available from U.S. Treasury Department, Internal Revenue Service, Washington, D.C., 20224.

A Working Code for Household Employment or Hands Across the Table. Available from Governor's Commission on the Status of Women, St. Paul, Minn., 55101.

The following publications are available from U.S. Department of Labor, Women's Bureau, Washington, D.C., 20210:

To Improve the Status of Private-Household Work

Summary of the Consultation on Private-Household Workers, June 2, 1964

Private-Household Employment, Summary of Second Consultation, February 8, 1965

Excerpts from: Report of the President's Commission on the Status of

Women, AMERICAN WOMEN

February 1, 1965 Statement by the President on His Job Development Program

The following publications are available from the National Committee on Household Employment, YWCA, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y., 10022:

Guidelines for Organizations Cooperating in the Inquiries of Private-Household Workers and Employers of Private-Household Workers, including:

- a. Background suggestions.
- b. Instructions for individuals conducting the inquiry of private-household workers, and questionnaires.
- c. Instructions for individuals conducting the inquiry of employers of private-household workers, and questionnaires.

Public Housing. The contribution public housing facilities can make to the improved status of low-income families was mentioned frequently throughout the discussion. Single copies of the following publications may be obtained free from the Director, Office Services Branch, Public Housing Administration, Washington, D.C., 20413:

Community Service Programs for Public Housing

Status of Women in Public Housing Developments (Fact Sheet)

Services for Families Living in Public Housing

Services for Families Living in Public Housing—Part II, A Selected Bibliography

New Programs in Health, Education, and Welfare for Persons and Families of Low Income

Workshop 7—Consumer Education

Chairman: Ruth Graves (Colo.)

Resource Specialists:

Betty Bay (PCCI)
Margaret Browne (USDA)
Howard Frazier (PCCI)
Frances Harris (Mich.)
Ruth Prokop (PCCI)
Gladys White (FS)
Blair Williams (Vt.)

Reporters:

Mary Cunningham (PCCI)
Harriette Wolf (Ill.)

The workshop discussion revolved around consumer needs and the resources that exist for consumer protection, information, and education at the Federal and State levels. Although this is a period of increasing interest in consumer protection, as evidenced by the existence of the President's Committee on Consumer Interest and the appointment of a Special Assistant to the President for Consumer Affairs, there is a great variation in what the States are doing in regard to consumer interests. Some States have extensive organizational support for this activity and others almost completely neglect it.

Adequate consumer information and protection is valuable to all Americans but is especially necessary for members of the lower income group—a fifth of our population—who cannot afford to waste even a fraction of their already inadequate income.

Although there is already in existence a very considerable body of good consumer information, the materials available are inadequate. The lack is most acute in materials needed for persons whose level of literacy is low and for those who are literate only in a foreign language.

The group summarized its discussion by making five recommendations.

1. Each State Commission should have a committee or subcommittee on consumer education and protection.

2. This committee should be in touch with the President's Committee on Consumer Interests for guidelines and information to be used in solving local problems.

3. The whole area of consumer needs and resources for consumer protection, information, and education should be surveyed. Open hearings should be held or some other effective means should be found to determine these needs and resources.

4. State Commissions should examine consumer protective legislation and its administration in order to recommend measures that would strengthen these when necessary.

5. School systems should be encouraged to offer required courses on consumer education and protection, from primary grades through college.

Workshop 8—Community Services

Chairman: Cynthia L. Stokes (Wis.)

Resource Specialists:

Betty Ellingson (OEO)
C. Mauritz Erkkila (PCCI)
Dorothy Gilfert (PHA)
Jocelyn Gutchess (NYC)
Rosemary Hagen (Minn.)
Helen Hamer (HEW)
Josephine Lambert (HEW)
Regina Saxton (NYC)
Marilyn Schima (OEO)
Dr. Alison Thorne (Utah)
Lillian A. Wilson (Ind.)

Reporters:

Lucille J. Kapplinger (Mich.)
Beatrice McConnell (OEO)

Discussion centered around activities that State Commissions should initiate in order to develop or strengthen community programs for families coming under the Economic Opportunity Act.

An important part of the discussion centered around semantics. The use of phraseology that is not distasteful to those the programs seek to help is most important. The terms "the poor" and "the underprivileged" carry with them a certain degree of opprobrium. How something is said is often more significant than what is said. No proper terminology was agreed upon, but there was a consensus that programs aimed at breaking the poverty cycle must be sensitive

to the feelings of the group to be served if they are to accomplish their purpose.

The following specific suggestions were made to all Governors' Commissions:

1. Contact the State Coordinator of the Office of Economic Opportunity to indicate the Commission's interest, and work out practical ways of cooperation.

2. Serve as a catalyst in bringing together information and the people who can act on it.

3. Identify potential leadership in communities and in the State. It is important to find and use local leaders who can bridge the gap between those developing the programs and those being served.

4. Emphasize importance of developing programs in rural areas and help identify rural leaders.

5. Work with governmental agencies (such as those dealing with health, housing, education, and welfare) to achieve maximum coordination of activities and utilization of local leaders.

6. Find ways to include consumer education in the antipoverty program.

7. Train leaders, particularly those who will carry on community programs. Help locate training sources.

Workshop 9—Labor Standards

Chairman: Margaret F. Ackroyd (R.I.)

Resource Specialists:

Maxine Daly (Wash.)

Norene Diamond (LSB)

Sara Feder (Mo.)

Bernice L. Kizer (Ark.)

Amos Sanchez (Colo.)

Morag Simchak (WHPC)

Marjorie D. Tibbs (Pa.)

Priscilla Bonuccelli (WB)

Reporters:

Martha Brayton (Va.)

Mary C. Manning (WB)

Although this group concentrated on equal pay and minimum wage legislation, it emphasized that women are not seeking special privileges in either area. In general, legislation to improve labor standards should apply to all workers regardless of sex. The Women's Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Standards, both in the U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C., have model State minimum wage and equal pay bills, which are available to those working toward such legislation.

The group made the following specific recommendations:

1. All States should have equal pay laws whose standards are consistent with provisions of the Federal Equal Pay Act.

2. Minimum wage standards should be extended to as many workers as possible by extension of the coverage of the Federal wage and hour law, by improvement of State laws, and by extension of their coverage to exempted occupations, such as hospital workers.

3. State minimum wage laws should provide for the payment of premium pay (time-and-a-half) for overtime.

4. A Department of Labor should be established as a separate entity in States where such departments do not now exist.

5. Representatives of labor and management and State administrators should meet under the auspices of the Women's Bureau to study women's particular needs and recommend who should be exempt from hours limitations.

6. The Women's Bureau, the Bureau of Labor Standards, and the Governors' Commissions in the States should undertake studies to determine how hours limitations affect women's opportunities to earn and advance. Guidelines on this subject should be prepared for the States.

7. The Women's Bureau should consult union leaders and management about the limitations on women's employment called for in union contracts.

8. All State Commission members should keep their Senators and Representatives in Congress and in State legislatures informed about their points of view.

Workshop 10—Income Maintenance

Chairman: Mildred W. Norris (Miss.)

Resource Specialists:

Claire Hancock (HEW)

Ellen J. Perkins (HEW)

Charles Moseley (BES)

Reporters:

Mary Aiken (Oreg.)

Pearl Peerboom (HEW)

The group focused on the unemployment insurance and public assistance programs. Among problems discussed were:

1. Restrictive eligibility requirements for women as evidenced by discriminatory administrative decisions on payments.

2. Types of employment involving large numbers of women not covered by unemployment insurance.

3. People in need of assistance who cannot qualify for it because their incomes are higher than those stipulated for eligibility.

4. Procedures necessary to deter fraudulent claims. Such deterrent action must be based on a realization that elimination of all fraudulent claims may well result in restrictive legislation or rulings that will endanger the rights of all.

Unemployment payments are insurance payments, not public assistance; a means test is therefore inappropriate to determine eligibility for such benefits. A bill, H.R. 8282, pending before the Congress, would make a number of changes in the unemployment insurance program by improving standards for Federal-State participation, removing restrictions on eligibility requirements, extending duration of benefits, and extending coverage to three types of employment with heavy concentrations of women workers. These include small businesses employing one, two, or three workers; nonprofit organizations (including hospitals and service organizations); and State and local government agencies.

State as well as Federal action is extremely important in improving public assistance programs. The Federal financing available offers encouragement. States, however, must plan programs to meet Federal standards, and must match Federal contributions with State funds.



The group identified the following problems and recommended that State Commissions study them in their own communities:

1. The level of assistance payments is too low.

2. Many families on Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) programs are headed by women whose family responsibilities do not allow them to leave their homes to work.

3. There is great need for programs of family planning.

4. Public welfare agencies are not adequately staffed to provide the services needed by low-income families.

5. Low-income families do not know about local resources available to them.

The workshop took note of the recently passed Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, which has as its objective "the realization . . . of a decent home and suitable living environment for every American family." The law provides not only for housing, including the new rent subsidies for low-income people, but also for improving local community environments and urban renewal activities.

A fact sheet, *Program Facts About Women and Girls Receiving Public Assistance*, is available from the Bureau of Family Services, Welfare Administration, U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Washington, D.C., 20201.



Workshop 11—Women in Public Life

Chairman: Martha Bell Conway (Va.)

Resource Specialists:

India Edwards (USDL)
Viola Hymes (Minn.)
Mary Stack (WH)
Mary Weaver (HEW)
Jackie Withrow (W. Va.)
Chase Going Woodhouse (Conn.)

Reporters:

Elsie L. Denison (WB)
Aleene Kidd (Fla.)

This workshop benefited from the participation of many women public officeholders and several who formerly served as elected officials. Among participants were a former member of the U.S. House of Representatives, two Secretaries of State, three State Senators, seven State Representatives, two Mayors, several members of local school boards, and numerous members of party committees from the county up to the national level. All appealed for more women to run for public office.

To qualify as a candidate, a woman should be well prepared. A background in law, economics, or political science is valuable. The field of

education also has sent women on to political success. Community service, including work with women's groups, is important. Candidates should be effective public speakers and know parliamentary procedures.

Women should "start small." Service on health and welfare boards, boards of education, beautification commissions, and even sewerage commissions offer opportunities for making contributions.

Women should be "party-minded," and support other candidates, starting at the precinct level.

Several problems hamper women in politics.

First, both men and women are prejudiced against women as candidates for public office. Women officeseekers should think in terms of "stature," not "status," in terms of obligations and responsibilities, not rights.

Second, although the cost of campaigning is a real barrier to officeseeking, campaign contributions should be carefully screened and contributions should not be accepted from individuals or businesses seeking to influence the candidates' vote. Women officeholders present agreed that lack of funds did not deter them from entering political contests. A State Senator reported that dedicated campaign workers raised large sums of money through baby contests and other fundraising events.

Third, certain public offices seem to be reserved for women. For example, the office of Secretary of State in a number of States is considered a "woman's job." Men should not be excluded from certain offices and a wider variety of public positions should be open to women.

The group suggested these activities for Governors' Commissions:

1. Study the high costs of campaigning and seek solutions.
2. Be more active in the talent search for qualified women to fill appointive and elective positions. Some women's groups, like the National Federation of Business and Professional Women and the American Association of University Women, keep rosters of qualified women who are available for public service. These rosters should be used effectively.



AFTERNOON SESSION—Workshops A-F

Workshop A—Financing of State Commissions

Chairman: Ettamae Reed (Okla.)

Resource Specialists:

K. G. Flory (La.)

Mary Fonseca (Mass.)

Chloe Gifford (Ky.)

Norman E. Nicholson (Calif.)

Pearl Zemlicka (Iowa)

Reporter: Dorothy M. Pendergast (WB)

Some Commissions work on less than the proverbial shoestring. They have no budgets and no hope of getting any funds. Others have budgets ranging from \$10,000 to \$35,000. Commissions established by legislative action are sometimes granted funds after submitting a budget; Commissions appointed by Executive orders depend on the Governors' largess, and on funds appropriated for a variety of purposes, such as "boards and commissions," for expenses. In any case, whether or not the budget is generous, it is desirable for a Commission to have an executive secretary who is already on the

State payroll. This provides continuing administrative service at no cost.

Several States that receive no money for expenses reported that they expected no problems in regard to financing the printing of their report. Some States have helped defray printing costs by selling their reports for 50 cents a copy. Requests for donations from interested men's and women's organizations was suggested as another way of financing a report.

One Commission has been able to use funds available to the State university from a "non-tax" source. The same Commission asked each organization that had a representative on the Commission to pay the expenses of that representative. And this same Commission obtained money to print its report and managed to buy paper at reduced rates.

Some representatives at the Conference came at their own expense; others had expenses paid by their States. In-State meetings of the Commissions are generally held at State capitol buildings. Defrayment of travel expenses varies.



Workshop B—Preparing the Report

Chairman: Mary Ellen Swanton (Hawaii)

Resource specialists:

Isabelle M. Allias (Pa.)

Ruth Lieban (N.C.)

Minnie C. Miles (Ala.)

Maryan E. Reynolds (Wash.)

Edna Schwartz (Minn.)

Reporters:

Mrs. Harold Burkholder (R.I.)

Madeline H. Coddling (WB)

Discussion was practical and to the point. The group made one specific recommendation to those still preparing reports: Consider including material on the impact of Title VII, even if publication must be delayed to do so. The group summarized its suggestions in the following way:

1. *Preparation*: When gathering material, always remember that the final report is to be *written*. Progress reports are extremely helpful. Be sure committee members understand the area to be covered, the time limitations on surveys, and any other pertinent matters. Use current statistics. Be sure the basis for every recommendation is included in the text.

2. *Content*: Mimeograph the final draft and send it to all Commission members, subcommit-

tee members, and people affected by the recommendations. Give them a chance to comment. Use a positive approach. Keep the draft updated right up to the day it goes to the printer.

3. *Editing*: Let one person edit all final copy. Be sure all contributors realize this from the beginning. Know the State's printing policies. Does the report have to be cleared and approved by the Governor, or by any departments?

4. *Format*: Be sure the appearance is interesting and appealing. When you are planning size, be sure it can be handled easily. Color and illustrations create interest, but are sometimes costly. Be sure type is readable. Too many figures and graphs may become boring. Use them with care. Spiral binding is helpful if you want to update the report in the future.

5. *Publishing and Publicity*: From 1,000 to 10,000 copies of Commission reports have been published. Some reports have been financed by Commission members themselves; others have been paid for by the Department of Industry in the State government. When the report is officially presented to the Governor, have key people present and arrange for photographers and publicity to aid future implementation. Put a sales price on the report whether or not it is to be sold. A price psychologically increases its value.

Workshop C—Working With Governor's Office

Chairman: William E. Daugherty (Nebr.)

Panelists:

Ernestine D. Evans (N. Mex.)

Mary Lou Hill (Minn.)

Louis Meyer (Ariz.)

Sue Scott (W. Va.)

Beatrice S. Tylutki (N.J.)

Harriette Wolf (Ill.)

Reporters:

Hazel Henderson (Colo.)

Rhobia C. Taylor (WB)

These ideas emerged from the roundtable discussion which was led by a panel including three administrative assistants to Governors, a Governor's counsel, and an official of a State department of personnel.

Liaison: The Governor is a busy man; do not take his time unnecessarily. Use an already established channel to set up liaison if possible. The contact may be made through employees in his office, the chairman of the Commission, a member of the Commission who is on the Governor's staff, the Governor's wife, or influential private citizens or legislators.

Legislation: Make specific recommendations which can lead to legislation. Clear with the Governor and legislators to assure that the legislation planned is inclusive. Support the legislation once it is introduced either through the Governor's office or, when advisable, through legislative committees.

Composition of the Commission: The method by which a Commission is created will largely determine its composition and name. A Commission brought into being by legislation will most likely be limited both in membership and areas of representation. Technically such a Commission should be called a State Commission. A Commission also may be established by action of the Governor who may issue an Executive order or a proclamation. A Commission appointed by the Governor usually includes a larger number of members and a broader representation. It is most desirable to have both men and women on a Commission.

Interdepartmental Relationships: By exploring the needs and problems of the various State agencies within State governments, Com-

missions may discover a wide range of subjects to study. For example, in the department of labor, problems relating to laws dealing with hours, wages, and working conditions will be uncovered. In the departments of education and welfare, need for consideration of policies and practices in relation to counseling and guidance, education, and job training will appear. Secretarial service, duplication, and other assistance will become available in various departments. Finally, a survey of various departments and the legislature will turn up potential members for the task forces needed to look closely into some aspects of the Commission's work.

Public Relations: A Commission on the Status of Women has political value. The Governor will not overlook it.

The Commission needs to present its real objectives and the overall picture of its work to the public. Have an experienced reporter cover Commission meetings. It would be helpful to have an experienced public relations person on the Commission.

Every member of the Commission is a representative of the Governor and the State and should promote good relations at all times.



**Workshop D—Enlisting Broader Support
and Participation for Commissions**

Chairman: Georgia Boone (Tenn.)

Panelists:

Marna V. Brady (Fla.)

Betsy P. Meyers (Pa.)

Virginia Sams (Ill.)

Esther Winchell (S. Dak.)

Reporter: Mary C. Manning (WB)

Much more needs to be done to inform all levels of society about the work of the State Commissions. In particular, special work is needed to reach the lower economic groups, which do not ordinarily come into contact with the organizations associated with Governors' Commissions. It was suggested that simple mimeographed information sheets might be prepared for door-to-door delivery, and that neighborhood meetings should be held to acquaint all groups with Commission work. The schools and teachers cooperating with the Economic Opportunity program also should be used.

It was suggested that each Commission should make one member responsible for keeping communications media representatives abreast of appropriate Commission activities. It was recognized that there are two points of view about

publicity. One school holds that no publicity should be given out until the Commission has done something worth publicizing. The other school holds that there are many things about a Commission that can bring it advantageous publicity. Information about the Commission's objectives, the names of its members, and other matters of interest fall into this category. Both schools of thought recognize that interim and progress reports sometimes may be issued as a device for bringing the Commission to public attention. It was agreed also that publicity about decisions and recommendations should wait until the entire Commission has approved such recommendations, at which time the Commission itself should present the information.

Radio and television as well as the press are valuable media. The usual comment was heard that publicity generally appears on the women's page and nowhere else. Several participants countered with the idea that a great many people besides women read the women's page.

It was agreed that it is important to use the prestige of the Governor's office when he announces appointments or makes a statement about other matters connected with the Commission.



Workshop E—Techniques for Securing Information—Conferences, Hearings, Studies

Chairman: Geraldine L. Hinkle (Wis.)

Panelists:

Dolores Harvey (Del.)
Ednamay Hillhouse (Nev.)
Ellen Bryan Moore (La.)
Marie K. Smith (Colo.)

Reporters:

Mrs. Walter Lichtenstein (Ind.)
Jean A. Wells (WB)

In the workshop concerned with the techniques by which Governors' Commissions on the Status of Women could secure information, both successful and unsuccessful techniques were discussed. It was felt that new Commissions particularly need to have the full details of various activities and projects if they are to benefit from the experiences of other Commissions.

Many delegates in the workshop reported that their Commission had conducted one or more statewide conferences—in order to obtain information as well as to stimulate interest in their activities. Some of the conferences were concerned with women's status in general while others focused on specific subjects. One delegate believed that the large attendance at a conference held by her Commission was related to the fact that invitations were issued on the Governor's stationery.

The importance of having wide representation at State conferences was stressed. A good source of information for names of industrial leaders was held to be the State employment service. Similarly, names of union leaders can be obtained from the State AFL-CIO and names of other important leaders from women's organizations, community groups, professional organizations, State and local government agencies, private employment agencies, colleges and universities, adult education groups, and service groups. It was thought essential to include men among the conference delegates.

When the workshop delegates were asked whether their State had held hearings to obtain information, very few responded affirmatively and most of these reported very poor attendance at the hearings. One delegate, how-

ever, stated that one of the hearings held in her State was quite successful. In this instance, there had been intensive preliminary work. Members and friends were urged to attend, and organizations were helped to prepare statements in advance.

Surveys were considered another source of information, but several delegates urged that special precautions be taken regarding them. It was noted that the development of meaningful questionnaires requires the skill of a professional. Some delegates also voiced doubts about the value of second-hand information on the attitudes and activities of others. Information about the attitudes and experiences of workers, for example, was thought to come most appropriately from workers themselves. Supplementary information from employers also could be useful.

It was also suggested that Commissions interested in obtaining new information contact such local resources as universities, State agencies, and professional organizations to see whether these groups would conduct surveys for them. Valuable assistance also can be obtained from graduate students looking for thesis material. Other helpful hints cited in connection with survey work included: providing persuasive descriptions of the purpose of the survey; conducting a pilot or experimental survey to help eliminate questionnaire defects; and offering to send a copy of the survey report to the participants.

Examples of various types of surveys made by or for Commissions included a survey of counseling opportunities for women made by a State university, surveys made by women's organizations of their membership characteristics and activities, surveys of women's job opportunities in specific fields made by labor organizations, surveys of women's job opportunities as reported by selected industrial concerns, and a survey about women in public life conducted among women officeholders.

A testimonial to the value of learning the detailed experiences of individual State Commissions was given by one of the delegates at the conclusion of the workshop. She reported that the relatively new Commission in her State was planning to invite the chairmen of all State Commissions to a conference this winter so that



the host Commission may learn more about the successful and unsuccessful activities and techniques of the other Commissions.

Workshop F—Promoting Continuity of Program

Chairman: Addie Wyatt (Ill.)

Panelists:

Ruby Cheong (Hawaii)

Kay Edge (Mich.)

Waneta McClung (Wash.)

Ewald B. Nyquist (N.Y.)

Grace Taylor Rodenbaugh (N.C.)

Reporters:

Dianne L. McKaig (WB)

Leota F. Pekar (Colo.)

The natural evolution of a Commission program is from facts to acts.

The initial work of the several Commissions that have reported has included study, analysis of facts, and formulation of recommendations based on the data studied. In the process, Commission members have become educated, but if their recommendations are to come to fruition the Commission members must share their knowledge and enthusiasms with others. They must not only act, they must become involved to the point where they involve others. A continuing Commission must coordinate the

activities of other groups and guide them toward the goals set by the Commission recommendations. The continuing Commissions must involve community leaders—men and women—representatives of educational institutions, political and service organizations, business and professional groups, employer and employee groups, volunteer organizations, and the mass media.

States whose work was advancing reported that facts flowed into other facts; recommendations led to further study, reappraisal, and the formation of new recommendations. The Commission's work must not become frozen after its report is submitted. A dynamic Commission must be flexible and respond to changes in society, some of which will have been brought about by the impact of the Commission's own work.

In the words of one participant, "Facts are the keys to other facts." The group provided these keys to the future of the Commissions.

Commissions need to continue as they move from facts to acts. They do so by: Sharing their knowledge with others; involving others on a statewide basis; and coordinating efforts of all segments.

Commission members must maintain their sensitivity by increasing their awareness of changing problems and by remaining flexible.

THE CONFERENCE IN ESSENCE

The task of distilling the experiences of the two previous days fell to Dr. Kathryn F. Clarenbach, Chairman of the Wisconsin Governor's Commission on the Status of Women. Her remarks closed the conference.

Dr. Kathryn F. Clarenbach, Chairman, Wisconsin Commission on the Status of Women

Madam Chairman, fellow weary status seekers, my summing up is going to be brief because Miss Hickey's gavel has frightened me and because I am as tired as the rest of you. In addition, I am a slow learner, so it is going to take me a couple of weeks to digest this Conference well enough for me to cull the central themes and the major ideas. I do, however, have a few reactions which I am going to talk about.

It is almost a distinction on this Conference program to be a commoner—someone for whom the audience does not need to arise. It has been fun this afternoon to hear other common people talk.

At the same time, I think we have been rarely privileged these past several days to hear the roster of dignitaries who have taken the time

to come and address us. I think this indicates not only that the Conference was well planned by people of influence, but also that these dignitaries consider the Commissions on the Status of Women sufficiently important and valuable to want to take the time to be with us.

We are all engaged in promoting and improving the quality of life of the American people. The part of that job that our Commissions are doing is regarded in Washington as an important part.

This Conference has left no doubt that we have allies; we have allies and a very enthusiastic cheering section in high places.

We certainly have been told many times that women are needed and we have seen that many people share the confidence that there is an enormous potential to be unleashed. In fact, there have been a few moments during the Conference when I wished that Alan King would come and give us one of his routines on women, just to get us back in perspective. I have the feel-

ing it is going to be a cold, cruel world tomorrow.

At this Conference, if one thing has been paramount, I think it has been a sense of momentum and of progress. We realize that we are not an isolated Commission, dipping into bits and pieces here and there of a giant and complex and usually overwhelming problem, but rather that we are a part of a significant nationwide movement. I think we have gotten this sense of involvement and of motion at these meetings, and they have given us encouragement.

I think this movement is as wide as the world. I am sorry there was not a spot on the program for us to hear about what was going on in the rest of the world.

Just before I walked in, a dear friend from Sweden came bursting in upon us. She writes articles to correct misunderstandings in Sweden and other places about what American women are really like. So we are awfully glad to know she is here too.

The Wisconsin Commission follows what we call Durocher's law. It was Professor Jack Barbash who enunciated the provisions of Durocher's law: "Nice guys don't win ball games."

I wonder if we did not get a little of this at this Conference, too. So long as we are a little too ladylike and sit a little too quietly when some of the things we know should change are not changing, things are not likely to move very fast.

I think this Conference has given us the courage and incentive to move out with confidence, with imagination, and probably with a little boldness.

We are aware of our being here, we are aware of the size of our forces. My husband is not going to believe that it was not I who told the *Washington Post* that there were 4,000 women in this meeting. He says I am very careless with decimal points. I know they should have said 400 attended the meeting, even though we often sounded like 4,000. But I think we sometimes had the feeling we were 4,000 right here in this meeting. We know we are that many around the country.

By contrast with last year's Conference, which of necessity concentrated on how to or-

ganize a Commission, how to garner favorable publicity, how to narrow down or select priorities in our areas of concern, this year we have been able to report progress and specifics in making our existence, if not our influence, felt in our own States.

Perhaps by next year, or the year after, or the year after that, we will be able to report other things that are on the agenda now.

I think the reports from our discussion leaders were terrific. They left me breathless, but I think they have helped.

Yesterday, Mary Keyserling gave us a long list of unfinished business, and our other speakers have handed us assignments one after another after another. I am not going to try to recap or list them all.

The things that are on the list, however, I think we might very well handle in the manner outlined by Wilbur Cohen yesterday, when at one point he said that first we must understand; then we must explain; and finally we must fight for what we want.

I am not sure that we all do fully understand the scope of the problems our Commissions are studying, or the solutions to these problems.

At a meeting recently we were reminded that he who knows all the answers has not yet heard all the questions.

But even without knowing all the answers, and I think we make no pretence of knowing them, we can certainly understand more fully than we do now; we can and we must look at our own assumptions and our own underlying philosophies. Miss Hernandez reminded us of that again this noon.

What do we really believe—what do we *really* believe about the employment of mothers out of the home?

Do we mean it when we say we should encourage young girls to go into nontraditional fields, into the so-called men's professions, into high-level public and private decisionmaking posts? And if we really do mean these things, then what does this do to the almost universally held concepts of the mother/child relationship and the "life-in-stages" approach that so many people apply to the lives of women?

When we talk about the myths of women's abilities and inabilities, the myths of women's

employment behavior, and all the rest, are we ourselves sometimes guilty of casting aside some of the myths but applying others that suit our purposes?

Can we, for instance, speak of full partnership and equal opportunity and still insist that women naturally fit into the nurturing professions—social work, teaching, nursing—or suggest that “women’s compassion” is needed in the War on Poverty and at the peace table?

Rather it is the nurturing of *people* that we must cultivate, and the compassion of *human beings* that we must encourage and permit expression.

As our understanding grows, we must as in Wilbur Cohen’s trilogy, explain, and explain, and explain.

Whenever I begin to feel like a broken record, and when I think I am beginning to sound like Aimee Semple McPherson, I stop to think about how many times Beatrice McConnell must have said these same things without losing her enthusiasm. That cheers me and I go on. Then, just about the time I think everyone in the world, or at least in Wisconsin, knows all about the status of women and the kinds of lives they lead, that is the day I meet an employer who tells me, “You know, women—especially you women of the university community—don’t really need equal pay. After all, you are just supplementing your husbands’ incomes.”

Lately I have been responding to that one with, “You old Socialist. I didn’t know you were paying people on the basis of need. If you are, then we’ll look at things again.”

Or that may be the day I meet a woman who tells me she cannot do certain things because her husband is one of those men accustomed to the pipe, slipper, rocking chair routine, and then I think we have a lot of explaining to do to husbands and sons and brothers and fathers, and I think we have not really begun to do this. I would like to see this a whole subject on the agenda of a conference. How do you reach the male of the species?

As we participate in the great talent search for able women—as many of us have been asked to do and have begun to do—let’s be very sure that what we feed into the computer is not the definition of a man.

Whether or not we are mechanized, let’s not be mechanical. I have a feeling we don’t always draw upon our imagination to make the best use of the talents of women in public or private enterprise.

Where do our Commissions fit into the Economic Opportunity program? This is one of the questions we are all going to have to wrestle with.

I don’t have any answers to that one, but I think that after getting in touch with our State coordinators, one of our first steps should be to explain, and explain, and explain.

At meetings of people actually working in economic opportunity—people engaged in employment and training under the Economic Opportunity program—I have been appalled to find some who have never thought of a woman as a wage earner. They think of women in poverty as wives, mothers, home managers, and consumers. They never think of women as unemployed people or as people in need of training and a job. How they have remained so uninformed puzzles me. Educating *them* is part of our responsibility.

Let’s not be afraid of Mr. Cohen’s third step—to fight for the things that we are trying to implement, to fight for the things of which we are convinced. Let’s risk a little of the public censure or criticism that Maurine Neuberger talked about. Let’s apply Durocher’s law or, at least, keep it in mind.

Let’s return to our legislators with our minimum wage proposals that failed on the first go-around. Let’s beard the city council. Better still, let’s get on the city council. Then we can pass the legislation we need in our localities.

We know now, in a way we did not know before, how many allies we have in Washington. I think we will be very surprised to find how many allies we have in our own towns and counties and States, once they know we mean business.

There certainly is no dearth of programs or opportunities to serve. We have more things to cope with than we can even pack in our suitcases. But with a new kind of enthusiasm which I think this Conference has created in all of us, and with the deepest gratitude for a truly profound experience, let’s go home and get down to business.

Pertinent Facts About Reports of Governors' Commissions on the Status of Women as of July 30, 1965

State, Governor, and Chairman	Title and Subjects	Source*
DELAWARE Governor: Charles L. Terry Chairman: Mrs. Rosella T. Humes P.O. Box 56 Harrington, Del. 19952	<i>Delaware's Women Today</i> Education Health and Recreation Home and Community Services Political and Civil Rights Private Employment and Labor Standards Public Employment Tax Structure	
GEORGIA Governor: Carl Sanders Chairman: Mrs. Mamie K. Taylor 1137 Briarcliff Road NE. Atlanta, Ga. 30326	<i>Governor's Commission on the Status of Women in Georgia</i> Education and Counseling Women Under the Law Home and Community Employment	
HAWAII Governor: John A. Burns Chairman: Mrs. Mary Ellen Swanton 725-A 15th Ave. Honolulu, Oahu Hawaii 96816	<i>Preliminary Progress Report</i> Education and Counseling Employment Policies and Practices Under State Contracts Home and Community Insurance and Tax Laws Legal Rights Labor Standards	
ILLINOIS Governor: Otto Kerner Chairman: Rep. Esther Saperstein Chicago Board of Health 54 West Hubbard St. Chicago, Ill. 60610	<i>Report on the Status of Women</i> Education Home and Community Legal Rights Protective Legislation Public and Private Employment Areas for Future Consideration	Mrs. Harriette Wolf Superintendent, Division of Women's and Children's Employment Illinois Dept. of Labor Room 1400 160 North La Salle Chicago, Ill. 60615
IOWA Governor: Harold E. Hughes Chairman: Dr. Marguerite Scruggs Head, Department of Home Economics Education Iowa State University Ames, Iowa 50010	<i>First Report of the Governor's Commission on the Status of Women</i> Employment State Labor Laws Legal Treatment as Related to Political, Civil, and Property Rights and Family Relations New and Expanded Services Educational Needs of Women	Mrs. Betty Talkington Secretary, Governor's Commission on the Status of Women Iowa Federation of Labor 900 Paramount Bldg. Des Moines, Iowa 50309

*Except as indicated, contact Commission Chairmen for copies of reports.

NOTE.—In all but one State—New York—Commissions are continuing in order to implement recommendations made in their reports.

State, Governor, and Chairman	Title and Subjects	Source*
MICHIGAN Governor: George Romney Chairman: Mrs. Paul G. Goebel 2310 Jefferson Dr. SE. Grand Rapids, Mich. 49507	<i>Governor's Commission on the Status of Women</i> Education State and Local Employment Policies and Practices Civil and Political Rights Social and Labor Legislation Private Employment Policies and Practices New and Expanded Services	
MINNESOTA Governor: Karl F. Rolvaag Chairman: Mrs. Charles Hymes 2044 West Cedar Lake Blvd. Minneapolis, Minn. 55416	<i>Minnesota Women</i> Education Employment Home and Community Political and Civil Rights Minority Women	
NEBRASKA Governor: Frank B. Morrison Chairman: Mrs. Arnold W. Black Lakeside, Nebr. 69351	<i>Preliminary Report</i> Nonlegislative Recommenda- tions Legislative Recommendations	Mr. William E. Dougherty Division of Employment State Department of Labor 550 South 16 St. Lincoln, Nebr. 68508 25 cents per copy
NEVADA Governor: Grant Sawyer Chairman: Mrs. Hope Roberts Roberts House 780 Forest St. Reno, Nev. 89502	<i>Tentative Report of Governor's Commission on the Status of Women</i> Protective Legislation Education Expanded Services Employment Policies and Practices Civil and Political Rights	
NEW YORK** Governor: Nelson A. Rockefeller Chairman: Mrs. Oswald B. Lord 770 Park Ave. New York, N.Y. 10021	<i>New York Women and Their Changing World</i> Education Employment Opportunity	Executive Chambers State Capitol Albany, N.Y. 12224
NORTH CAROLINA Governor: Dan K. Moore Chairman: Dr. Anne Firor Scott 1028 Highland Woods Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514	<i>The Many Lives of North Carolina Women</i> Women at Work Women at School Women and Politics Home and Community Women as Volunteers Minority Women Women Under the Law Unfinished Business	University Extension Service 218 Abernethy Hall Chapel Hill, N.C. 27514

*See footnote on page 65.

**The Governor's Committee on the Education and Employment of Women.

**State, Governor, and
Chairman**

Title and Subjects

Source*

NORTH DAKOTA

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*New Horizons for North Dakota
Women*
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Governor:
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306 Oklahoma State
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*Preliminary Report of the
Governor's Commission on
the Status of Women—
the State of Oklahoma*
Employment Policies for
Women in Oklahoma
Social Insurance and Tax
Laws
Difference in Legal Treat-
ment
Education, Counseling, and
Vocational Training
Opportunities for Leadership

SOUTH DAKOTA

Governor:
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Chairman:
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808 North Central
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Status of Women
Political and Civil Rights
Employment Policies and
Practices
New and Expanded Services
Education

TENNESSEE

Governor:
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Chairman:
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Memphis, Tenn. 38117

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Employment
Legal Status
Social Insurance and Tax Laws
Education
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Status of Women in Utah*
Employment
Legal Status
Community and Family
Services
Political and Civil Responsi-
bilities

* See footnote on page 65.

**State, Governor, and
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Title and Subjects

Source*

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Daniel J. Evans
Chairman:
Mrs. Vesta Cutting
1032 Summit East
Seattle, Wash. 98102

*Report of Governor's Commission
on the Status of Women*
Employment Policies and
Practices
Expanded Services for
Women as Wives, Mothers,
and Workers
Federal Social Security and
Income Tax Laws as
Related to Women in the
State of Washington
Education
Women as Citizen Volunteers
Labor Laws
Legal Rights

While supply lasts, Gov.
Daniel J. Evans, Olympia,
Wash. 98502. Enclose
self-addressed 7" by 10"
envelope with 25 cents
postage attached.

WEST VIRGINIA

Governor:
Hulett Smith
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202 Woods Ave.
Oak Hill, W. Va. 25901

*Report of the West Virginia
Commission on the Status of
Women*
Employment Policies and
Practices
Labor Laws
Legal Rights
The Family and the Em-
ployed Woman
Expanded Program To Help
Women as Wives, Mothers,
and Workers
Women as Citizen Volunteers
Education

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Wisconsin Women
Family and Community Life
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Legal Rights and Protection

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*See footnote on page 65.



"When you write to me as Chairman of the Citizens' Advisory Council," said Miss Hickey at the Friday luncheon, "when you write to the Interdepartmental Committee, you usually write to Mrs. Catherine East. I call her the Secretary General of the Conference. She is Executive Secretary for both the Council and the Committee. Mrs. East and her small staff, Mrs. Bertha Whittaker, Mrs. Betty Owen, and Mr. Stephen Hecht, operate out of a one-room office—Room 1334 in the Labor Department Building." (Mrs. Owen was not present when the photograph was taken.)



The Conference Planning Committee met often: (left to right) Mrs. Catherine S. East, Miss Marguerite I. Gilmore, Mrs. Mary Dublin Keyserling, and Mrs. Mary N. Hilton



Women's Bureau Regional Directors were often singled out by State Commission Chairmen for thanks and praise. Introducing them to the Conference at the Friday luncheon, Mrs. Keyserling said: "In addition to working with the Commissions, these five remarkably able women, and the splendid Director of the Field Service who works with them, do a prodigious job in all phases of Women's Bureau work. Although we consider our work with the Commissions especially challenging, the Regional Directors also work with schools and colleges, with trade unions, with women's organizations, and with other groups." Seated: (left to right) Miss Marguerite Gilmore, Director, Field Service; Mrs. Marie Hansom, Conference Assistant; Mrs. Madeline Coddington, Regional Director for the West; Miss Dianne McKaig, Regional Director for the Southeast. Standing: (left to right) Miss Dorothy Pendergast, Regional Director for New England; Miss Mary Manning, Regional Director for the Middle West; and Miss Rhobia Taylor, Regional Director for the Southwest.

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Mrs. Bertha Whittaker (ICSW, WB)

ABBREVIATIONS AND ADDRESSES

AAUW

American Association of University Women
2401 Virginia Ave. NW.
Washington, D.C. 20037

BAT

Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C. 20210

BES

Bureau of Employment Security
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C. 20210

CACSW

Citizens' Advisory Council on the Status of
Women
U.S. Department of Labor, Room 1334
Washington, D.C. 20210

CB

Children's Bureau
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and
Welfare
Washington, D.C. 20201

Commerce

U.S. Department of Commerce
Washington, D.C. 20230

CSC

U.S. Civil Service Commission
Washington, D.C. 20415

Defense

U.S. Department of Defense
Washington, D.C. 20301

EEOC

Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
Washington, D.C. 20506

FS

Bureau of Family Services
U.S. Department of Health, Education, and
Welfare
Washington, D.C. 20201

HEW

U.S. Department of Health, Education, and
Welfare
Washington, D.C. 20201

ICSW
Interdepartmental Committee on the Status of
Women
U.S. Department of Labor, Room 1334
Washington, D.C. 20210

Justice
U.S. Department of Justice
Washington, D.C. 20530

LSB
Bureau of Labor Standards
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C. 20210

NYC
Neighborhood Youth Corps
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C. 20210

OE
Office of Education
Department of Health, Education, and Welfare
Washington, D.C. 20201

OEO
Office of Economic Opportunity
Washington, D.C. 20506

OMAT
Office of Manpower, Automation and Training
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C. 20210

PCCI
President's Committee on Consumer Interests
Washington, D.C. 20501

PCEEO
President's Committee on Equal Employment
Opportunity
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C. 20210

PHA
Public Housing Administration
Housing and Home Finance Agency
Washington, D.C. 20411

SECY
Office of the Secretary
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C. 20210

SOL
Office of the Solicitor
U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C. 20210

State
U.S. Department of State
Washington, D.C. 20520

USDA
U.S. Department of Agriculture
Washington, D.C. 20250

USDL
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Washington, D.C. 20210

WB
Women's Bureau
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WH
The White House
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WHPC
Wage and Hour and Public Contracts Divisions
U.S. Department of Labor
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